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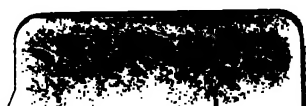
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BRONZE REPLICA OF MICHAEL ANGELO'S "DAVID."

**GIFT OF ANDREW LANGDON TO THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE CITY OF BUFFALO.
SEE PAGE 480.**

PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
BUFFALO
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
VOLUME VII

EDITED BY
FRANK H. SEVERANCE
SECRETARY OF SOCIETY

ALLEN & UNWIN, LTD.
LONDON & NEW YORK
BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
1904



1. MICHAEL ANGELO'S "DAVID."

BY HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE CITY OF BUFFALO

PLATE 480

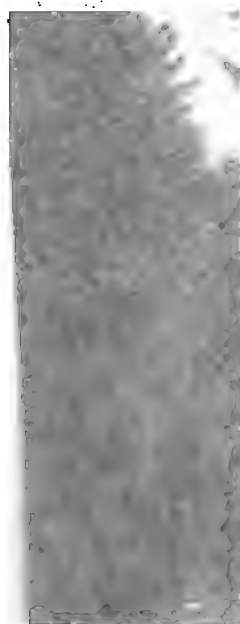
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BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY

FROM ITS ORGANIZATION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

*MILLARD FILLMORE,	1862 to 1867
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*REV. ALBERT T. CHESTER, D. D.,	1869
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*HON. NATHAN K. HALL,	1871
*WILLIAM H. GREENE,	1872
*ORLANDO ALLEN,	1873
*OLIVER G. STEELE,	1874
*HON. JAMES SHELDON,	1875 and 1886
*WILLIAM C. BRYANT,	1876
*CAPT. E. P. DORR,	1877
HON. WILLIAM P. LETCHWORTH,	1878
WILLIAM H. H. NEWMAN,	1879 and 1885
*HON. ELIAS S. HAWLEY,	1880
*HON. JAMES M. SMITH,	1881
*WILLIAM HODGE,	1882
*WILLIAM DANA FOBES,	1883 and 1884
*EMMOR HAINES,	1887
*JAMES TILLINGHAST,	1888
*WILLIAM K. ALLEN,	1889
*GEORGE S. HAZARD,	1890 and 1892
*JOSEPH C. GREENE, M. D.,	1891
*JULIUS H. DAWES,	1893
ANDREW LANGDON,	1894 to 1904

* Deceased.

P R E F A C E

THE documents and narratives contained in the following pages are so fully explained and annotated as they appear that little if anything further by way of comment is here called for.

Unlike most of the material thus far contained in the Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, the letters of Thomas Jefferson are not of merely local but of the widest interest. They afford glimpses of the mind of their writer, especially in his later years, and enable one to see somewhat clearer than heretofore, in what light he viewed the fundamental propositions of Christianity.

The journals of Gen. Henry A. S. Dearborn, here first printed, are a distinct contribution to the history of the negotiations which resulted in the relinquishment by the Senecas of the old Buffalo Creek Reservation. In the four reservations of Alleghany, Buffalo, Cattaraugus and Tonawanda, there were about 119,000 acres. It was inevitable that the increase of the white population around these tracts, especially at Buffalo, should exert a constantly-increasing pressure upon the Indians to part with their lands. The right to purchase from the Indian had been acquired from Massachusetts by the so-called Ogden Company. The policy of the United States Government, from the days of President Jackson, had been favorable to the removal of the Indians

to Western lands, for the most part beyond the Mississippi. President Van Buren, in a message to Congress, in December, 1837, urged such removal; and in a special message, Jan. 14, 1840, he stated that 40,000 Indians had been transferred to lands west of the Mississippi, since 1837.

The council held on the Buffalo Reservation in the summer of 1838, was an effort to secure the consent of a majority of the Seneca chiefs to a treaty which had been adopted by the Senate, providing for the emigration of the New York Indians. The proceedings of that council may be gathered from Gen. Dearborn's journal. Accusations were made, particularly by the Society of Friends, that many of the chiefs were bribed to gain their consent. A well-informed writer, the Hon. Lewis H. Morgan, has denounced the transactions of this period in strong terms:

"The darkest frauds, the basest bribery, and the most execrable intrigues which soulless avarice could suggest have been practiced in open day, upon this defenceless and much-injured people. . . . The Georgia treaty with the Cherokees, so justly held up to execration, is a white page compared with the treaties of 1838 and 1842, which were forced upon the Senecas. This project has already, however, in part, been defeated by the load of iniquity which hung upon the skirts of these treaties." ("League of the Iroquois," ed. of 1851, p. 33.)

Again he says (p. 458): "The [U. S.] Government bartered away its integrity to minister to the rapacious demands of the Ogden Land Company." These and similar accusations implicate the good name of the Federal Government, of Massachusetts and New York, and their representatives. One principal ground of complaint was, that the consents of the Indians were secured in many cases, not in open council, but singly, in hotel rooms, or elsewhere, where liquor and money could effectively be used to secure the signature of

the vacillating chieftain. The suggestion that signatures be thus obtained, may have come from Gen. Dearborn himself, though there is not the slightest ground for suspicion that he used or countenanced any fraudulent methods. Convinced of the advisability of the treaty, he believed that the opposition to it originated with interested whites, who wished the Indians to keep their reservation lands, in order to profit from mill and lumber privileges for which they paid the Indians very small sums.

In sending the treaty to the Senate, Jan. 14, 1840, President Van Buren declared that in his opinion the signatures had been obtained by fraud, and that the treaty ought not to be ratified. After being debated, through a period of eleven days, the vote stood nineteen to nineteen, and the treaty was ratified by the casting vote of R. M. Johnson, the Vice-President, in the affirmative. A memorial, signed by sixty-seven Seneca chiefs, begged that no appropriation be made to carry out the treaty, as they did not wish to leave their homes in New York. In the next year—1841—several petitions were sent to Congress, asking that the Indians be forcibly removed; but before action was taken, the committee was discharged from further consideration of the petitions. Governor Everett of Massachusetts, in his message of 1839, expressed the view that if the State had known all that it had since learned, it would not have consented to the request of the Ogden Company. Governor William H. Seward of New York wrote: "I am fully satisfied that the consent of the Senecas was obtained by fraud, corruption and violence, and it is therefore false, and ought to be held void." ("A Further Illustration of the Case of the Seneca Indians," p. 80.)

The outcome of it all was, that a very few of the Senecas and Tuscaroras removed to the West; and a compromise was effected with the Ogden Company, by which the Senecas

retained 52,000 acres of the 119,000 in controversy, being the Cattaraugus and Alleghany reservations. This arrangement was effected by the Buffalo treaty of 1842. Another result was the adoption by the Senecas of a constitution, and the establishment of a new form of self-government.

The sale of the valuable lands of the old Buffalo Creek Reservation naturally followed the treaty of 1842; but that these old negotiations sustain a live relation to present-day transactions, is perhaps all too familiar to those who now buy or sell some portions of these lands. The question of the validity of title has been repeatedly passed upon, but not always, it would appear, with full knowledge of the facts. A valuable report made to the State Legislature, Jan. 22, 1857, from the judiciary committee of the Senate, represents the rights of the Senecas to their lands as absolute, through a series of conveyances down to that date from the State of Massachusetts, from Oliver Phelps and from Robert Morris; and that no parties had then any preëmptive title to their lands. In recent years, inquiries have been made as to whether the city of Buffalo had any rights in or title to the parcels of land known as the Indian Church Square and Indian Church Cemetery. In 1882 Mayor Grover Cleveland vetoed a resolution for setting out trees on the first-named tract on the ground that it did not belong to the city. "On the contrary," he added, "the land appears to be the property of the Seneca nation of Indians." In 1896, Mr. Charles L. Feldman, Corporation Counsel, acting under a resolution of the Common Council, made an investigation and report on the whole matter of the city's right or title in the lands in question. His long report left some matters unsettled, but did show that the city had no title to the Indian Church Cemetery and the so-called "Square." The latter tract is now well-nigh obliterated; crossed by a street, and partly built over.

The cemetery tract is smaller than formerly, through the setting-in of the fence, and seems likely before long to share the common fate of land in that fast-growing part of Buffalo. It is still a beautiful place, with many historic associations. Here may still be traced the outlines of a prehistoric earth-work. Before the white man came, it was the Indians' village site or burial-place. At a later day Red Jacket and his associates, and Mary Jemison, "the white woman of the Genesee," were buried here, under fine old oaks and walnuts, still standing. There is a strong desire, on the part of members of the Historical Society and others, that this place of many associations be spared, and kept in a state of nature. Its addition to the park system has been repeatedly advocated, but as yet without result.

In a subsequent volume of these *Publications*, perhaps in connection with further material from the unpublished papers of Gen. Dearborn, it is proposed to print the history of the Indian Church Square and Cemetery, with a full report on the validity of title, and other related matters, by a competent hand. The Historical Society may not be able to preserve this tract for the enjoyment of present residents of Buffalo and of posterity; but it can at least make available a record of the facts in the case.

The Society was most fortunate to secure for publication in this volume Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson's admirable and definitive biography of his ancestor, the Honorable Augustus Porter, one of the large and influential figures in the early history of Western New York. With this is published, for the first time in full, Judge Porter's own narrative of his early years; and a number of other journals by early surveyors of our region. The one surveyor of all most important in the early history of Buffalo was Joseph Ellicott. He too left a journal, and an exceedingly voluminous corres-

pondence. It was the original intention of the editor of this volume, to include the Ellicott papers with the others relating to the pioneer surveyors; but when the work of preparing them for the press was undertaken there was found to be so much of them of historic interest, that they could not be included in the present volume without making it too large. They will form an important part of a future volume.

The Bunn and Ramsay narratives, and other bibliographical matter, are printed in pursuance of the plan entered upon in volume V of these *Publications*, to publish lists of books in the several fields of the literature of our region, and reprints of a few of the important rare things which, because of their great scarcity, are practically unknown and inaccessible to most readers.

Acknowledgment, for help given in the preparation of this volume, is gratefully made to Mr. Charles Mulford Robinson of Rochester; Mr. Alexander J. Porter of Niagara Falls; the Hon. Peter A. Porter of Buffalo; and Miss Frances L. Spencer, Erie, Pa. In the preparation of the index, as was the case with that of Volume VI, the editor has had the expert assistance of Miss Ellen M. Chandler of the Buffalo Public Library. It corrects and fills out many names which in the text are incomplete or incorrect; not so through inadvertence, but because it is desirable, in a publication of this character, to print old journals and other documents as their authors wrote them; reserving for notes and index guidance which may be necessary for the reader.

F. H. S.

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7

A BUNDLE OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON'S LETTERS

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

EDITED BY FRANK H. SEVERANCE

Secretary of the Buffalo Historical Society

Among the unpublished manuscripts in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, are a number of letters by Thomas Jefferson. The student of American history and letters, especially of the period in which Jefferson lived and wrote, may find his credulity somewhat taxed by this announcement. When one reflects that next to Washington himself, perhaps no figure in our national history—certainly no figure in our Revolutionary history—has been the subject of more thorough and continued study than has that of Jefferson, the claim that at this day any of his letters exist, unpublished, is little short of presumptuous. A brief recital of the facts will enable the reader to judge for himself.

Something more than thirty years ago Mrs. Pauline E. Henry of Philadelphia gave to the Buffalo Historical Society a collection of the writings and correspondence of her grandfather, Francis Adrian van der Kemp. Him I will presently introduce, *in propria persona*; for the moment it may suffice that he was an early settler of Central New York, a man of culture, who enjoyed the friendship of many of the most eminent Americans of his day. Among his papers was the journal of a tour he had made from the Hudson to Lake

Ontario in 1792. Some years after the gift of these papers to the Buffalo Historical Society the Rev. Albert Bigelow, then acting as its Secretary, edited two volumes of its Publications, which were issued respectively in 1879 and 1880. He recognized the value of the narrative of the journey to Lake Ontario and published it in the second volume. As for the rest of the collection, it continued to repose for twenty-four years more in the lockers of the Society, its existence probably unknown to most of the members. A recent examination discovered, besides the voluminous manuscripts of Judge van der Kemp, original letters written to him by John Adams, John Quincy Adams, James Wadsworth, George Clinton, Cornelius Beekman, Philip Schuyler, John Jay, Tobias Lear—the private secretary of Washington—Aaron Burr, Robert B. Livingston, Josiah Quincy, DeWitt Clinton—an interesting and long-continued correspondence—and a collection of fourteen letters from Thomas Jefferson, eleven of them in Jefferson's own handwriting; and with them, also in Jefferson's penmanship, a copy of his famous Syllabus, originally communicated to Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia.

I have examined every available publication with a view to learning whether these letters have been printed. In "The Writings of Thomas Jefferson," edited by his son-in-law, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, only one of them appears. In the latest and fullest collection of Jefferson's writings, recently edited by Paul Leicester Ford, and published in ten volumes, I find but three, all credited to the Johnson MSS., for which collection they were apparently copied many years ago. As printed by Mr. Ford, these three contain numerous errors, are much abbreviated, and of one of them the year of its composition is wrongly given. A portion of one other letter, copied from the Buffalo Historical Society MSS., is used in a lately published biography of Jefferson's correspondent.* The calendar of Jefferson manuscripts in the Department of State at Washington enu-

* "Francis Adrian van der Kemp, 1752-1829. An autobiography, together with extracts from his correspondence." Edited by Helen Lincklaen Fairchild. New York, 1903.

merates them all; but so far as I have been able to learn, eight of these letters have never been made public. The fourteen preserved by the Buffalo Historical Society are, with two exceptions, wholly in Jefferson's handwriting; with one exception are all addressed to the same correspondent, and range in date from 1788 to Nov. 30, 1825, but a few months before the aged statesman laid down his pen.

Before going further, let us make the acquaintance of this correspondent, with whom, through so long a period of years, Thomas Jefferson found it a pleasure to exchange views. He is well worth knowing. Indeed, it is not merely to the perusal of a few detached letters that the reader's attention is invited, but to an hour in the company of some rare spirits—an hour with Jefferson and his friends, all gentlemen of talent and scholarly attainments, who delighted to discuss together the latest new thing in scientific or philosophical research, or the ethics of life on the broadest Christian basis. I cannot better introduce this correspondent than by quoting the following letter, originally written to the editor of the *New York Statesman*:

WESTERN REGION, September, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR: In one of my solitary walks with my gun on my shoulder and my dog by my side, I strayed eight or ten miles from my lodgings; and as I was musing on the beauties of the country, and meditating on the various and picturesque scenes which were constantly unfolding, I was roused from my reverie by voices which proceeded from persons at a short distance. In casting my eyes in that direction, I saw two venerable men with fishing rods in their hands angling for trout, in a copious and pellucid stream which rolled at their feet. I was hailed by them, and requested to approach, which I immediately did, and in exchanging salutations, I found that they were men of the world, perfectly acquainted with the courtesies of life. One of them held up a string of fine trout, and asked me in the most obliging manner to go home with them and partake of the fruits of their amusement. Struck with the appearance of the strangers, and anxious to avail myself of the pleasure of their company, I did not hesitate to accept of this hospitable

offer, on condition that they would permit me to add the woodcock, snipe, and wood ducks, which were suspended from my gun, to their acquisitions. This offer was kindly accepted. A general and desultory conversation ensued, and we arrived in a short time at a small village, and on ascending the steps of an elegant house I was congratulated by my new friends on my entry into Oldenbarneveld. In the course of an hour dinner was served up, I sat down and enjoyed a treat worthy to be compared to the Symposium of Plato. I soon found that these venerable friends were emigrants from Holland—that they were men of highly cultivated minds, and polished manners—and that they had selected their habitations in this place, where they enjoyed

“An elegant sufficiency, content,
Retirement, rural quiet, friendship, books,
Ease and alternate labor, useful life,
Progressive virtue and approving Heaven.”

The elder of these gentlemen had received the best education that Holland could afford. He was brought up a clergyman, and at the commencement of the American Revolution, he became its enthusiastic and energetic advocate, and wrote an able work in vindication of its character and conduct. In the struggles which subsequently took place in his native country, he sided with the patriots. His friend held a high military office during that commotion, and unites the frankness of a soldier and the refinement of a gentleman with the erudition of a scholar.

During their residence in this country, they have been attentive to its interests. As far back as 1795, the elder gentleman proposed an Agricultural Society for this district, and addressed it in a luminous speech.

I was penetrated with the most profound respect, when I witnessed the various and extensive acquirements of this man. He is a perfect master of all the Greek and Roman authors—skilled in Hebrew, the Syriac, and the other oriental languages—with the German and French he is perfectly acquainted—His mind is a great store-house of knowledge; and I could perceive no deficiency, except in his not being perfectly acquainted with the modern discoveries in natural

science, which arises in a great degree from his sequestered life. He manages an extensive correspondence with many learned men in Europe, as well as America. And although I had never heard of him before, yet I am happy to understand that his merits are justly appreciated by some of the first men in this country.

He has lately been complimented with a degree of Doctor of Laws, by a celebrated university of New England. He is now employed by the State of New York in translating its Dutch Records—and through the munificence of David Parish, the great banker, he will be enabled to have transcripts of the records of the Dutch West India Company to fill up an important chasm in the history of this great state.

Thus, my friend, I have made a great discovery. In a secluded, unassuming village, I have discovered *the most learned man in America*, cultivating, like our first parent, his beautiful and spacious garden with his own hands—cultivating literature and science—cultivating the virtues which adorn the fireside and the altar—cultivating the esteem of the wise and the good—and blessing with the radiations of his illumined and highly gifted mind, all who enjoy his conversation, and who are honored by his correspondence.

This letter, published over the pseudonym of "Hibernicus," was written by DeWitt Clinton. In 1820, at 51 years of age, he was serving his first term as Governor. He had been in public life almost from early youth; had served in both branches of the Legislature, and in the United States Senate—the youngest man who had ever taken a seat in that body; had been mayor of New York, and lieutenant-governor of the State; an unsuccessful candidate for President of the United States, in 1812, against Madison; and from 1809 the zealous champion of the great canal. In the multiplicity and usefulness of his public services, in his natural ardor of temperament, and far-sighted devotion to the public good, one may find in DeWitt Clinton many resemblances to Theodore Roosevelt. In 1820 the completion of the canal was the passion of his life. In this tour, which he described under the pen-name of "Hibernicus," he had crossed the State, visiting Buffalo and Niagara Falls, and noting everywhere,

both as a naturalist and a man of affairs, the phenomena and resources of the State. It was on his return from this Western journey, that at the little village of Olden Barneveld, not far from the then famous Trenton Falls, he encountered, perhaps in the delightful way he has described, this "most learned man in America." One says "perhaps"; for it is certain that the acquaintance here described antedated this visit. Among the Clinton letters in the Buffalo Historical Society collection above mentioned are several of earlier date than this visit; "Hibernicus" was evidently taking an author's liberty for literary effect. Two years later, in 1822, the letters of "Hibernicus" were published in book form.* Mr. Clinton sent a copy with his compliments to Thomas Jefferson, which the latter acknowledged in a pleasant letter. The "Letters of Hibernicus" have never been reprinted.

This "most learned man in America," whom Clinton thus discovered in 1820, had been in correspondence with Jefferson since 1788. He was Francis Adrian van der Kemp, a Dutch clergyman, publicist and reformer, who was a refugee from his own country. Born in 1752, in 1766 he was a cadet in his father's regiment. After four years of study at Groningen, where he impaired his health by excessive and eccentric application, and after passing through a period of religious *sturm und stress*, he was admitted to preach in the Dutch Baptist church, his first parish being at Huyzen in Holland. I draw these and other facts following from his manuscript autobiography in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. He became the bosom friend of the Baron van der Capellen, a Dutch patriot of distinguished services. I cannot stay to enter upon this nobleman's career, but as the earliest letter of Thomas Jefferson in the collection which follows is addressed to him, some further delineation of his figure is desirable.

Van der Capellen was prominent in Holland, during the years of our Revolution, as a sympathizer with the cause of the American patriots. When, in December, 1775—six months before Jefferson and his associates had wrought out

* "Letters on the Natural History and Internal Resources of the State of New York." By Hibernicus. New York: sold by E. Bliss & E. White, No. 128 Broadway. 1822. 12mo. pp. 224.

the Declaration of Independence—there arose in the *Ridderschap*, the legislative body, of Overijssel, the great question of foreign policy, and of attitude towards England in her contest with the American colonies, van der Capellen delivered a famous speech opposing the Government measure of the “lending of the Scotch Brigade to the King of England for service in America, as a mark of friendship.”* It was van der Capellen who led the opposition to the demand, made in an autograph letter from King George to William V., for troops to be sent against the American colonies. He declared in an impassioned speech that whatever might be the ultimate fate of the American colonies he would always regard it as a glory and an honor openly to have espoused their cause, which he regarded as that of all human kind. When the Brigade was at last lent to the King, it was upon condition that it should not be used out of Europe.

The Baron van der Capellen still further won the displeasure of the Court by printing and circulating his pro-American speech, and for other forms of opposition. Van der Kemp, meanwhile, ardently sympathizing with the cause of the American colonies, had championed the rights of the people of the Netherlands in many a seditious speech, sermon and pamphlet. He resigned his pastorate and took up the sword. He underwent a long trial for his writings and was acquitted; but his activity in the Patriot cause against the house of Orange resulted in the confiscation of his property. The climax came in his attempted defense of the city of Wyk, at the head of a small band of burghers. The city being invested by some 1500 Prussian troops, they had to open the gates and surrender. Van der Kemp was for a time detained in prison, but with his associates was promised his freedom

* In the annals of hired mercenaries, this Scotch Brigade in the service of the Dutch is not without distinction. John Evelyn has recorded in his famous Diary, that on July 18, 1685, he “went to see the muster of the six Scotch and English regiments whom the Prince of Orange had lately sent to his Majesty out of Holland upon this rebellion, but which were now returning, there having been no occasion for their use.” Those who know their *Waverley* will recall, in the story of “My Aunt Margaret’s Mirror” (“Chronicles of the Canongate”) the duel between Sir Philip Forester and Captain Falconer “of the Scotch Dutch, as they are called.” This brigade of Scotch auxiliaries was in quarters at Rotterdam, at the period of the story.

if they would indemnify the State for losses incurred, as it was officially termed, during their usurpation. Practically ruined, and thoroughly discouraged, van der Kemp resolved to find an asylum in the American colonies, the course of whose successful revolution he had watched with so much satisfaction.

It was the 9th of December, 1787, when he was released from prison. Twelve days later, arrived at Antwerp, he wrote to John Adams, the Minister of the United States at the Court of St. James. Mr. Adams replied as follows:

LONDON, Jan. 6, 1788.

SIR: As I had suffered much anxiety on your account during your Imprisonment, your Letter of the 29. of last month gave me some relief. I rejoiced to find that you was at liberty and out of danger.

inclosed are two Letters, which I hope may be of Service to you.—living is now cheaper, than it has been, in America, and I doubt not you will succeed very well.—You will be upon your guard, among the Dutch People of New York, respecting religious Principles, untill you have prudently informed yourself of the State of Parties there.—if you should not find every Thing to your Wish in New York, I think in Pensilvania, you cannot fail. But New York is the best Place to go to, at first. I wish you a pleasant Voyage, and am sir your most

obedient servant

JOHN ADAMS.

THE REV'D MR. VANDERKEMP.

This friendly letter was the beginning of a correspondence that lasted until the death of Adams.

Through the Baron van der Capellen the good offices of Jefferson, then our Minister to France, were solicited. Jefferson, temporarily away from his post, replied as follows:

ROTTERDAM Mar 8, 1788

It was not in my power to write the letter for Mr. Van der Kemp the evening before I left Paris: and it is not till I arrive here that I have found one moment of leisure. not

knowing in what state of our Union he may chuse to settle I am not able to know to what persons he may be usefully & directly addressed. I give him therefore a letter to Mr. Madison, my most particular friend, now a member of Congress at New York. Whenever M. van der Kemp shall have made up his mind as to his settlement in America, Mr. Madison will be able to give & to procure for him the best introductory letters possible. his influence will be zealously used & omnipotent in it's effect. I am happy, while serving a worthy man, to have the additional gratification of doing what is pleasing to you, & to assure you of those sentiments of respect & attachment with which I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient & most humble servant

TH: JEFFERSON.

BARON DE CAPELLEN.

Mrs. van der Kemp, who with her children had left Holland with passports made out for her security in her maiden name of Vos, had looked after the removal of such of their furniture and books as it was possible to take to America. She joined her husband in Antwerp in March, 1788, in which month they sailed from Havre, reaching New York in May. Letters of introduction to eminent Americans secured for him a courteous and cordial reception in distinguished society, but did not go far towards establishing him in a way of living. After a visit at Mt. Vernon, and some weeks of travel and visiting, he bought a farm near Kingston in Ulster Co., New York. He was naturalized in 1789, and in 1792 made a journey to Lake Ontario, the narrative of which, from his original manuscript, was first published by the Buffalo Historical Society, as above mentioned.

During the first years of his American residence Mr. van der Kemp made some effort to recover his lost property in Holland. He appealed to President Washington; in reply he received the following letter from Thomas Jefferson:

NEW YORK, 31st March, 1790.

SIR: The letter has been duly received which you addressed to the President of the United States, praying his Interference with the Government of the United Nether-

lands, on the Subject of Property you left there on your coming to America. I have it in charge to inform you that the United States have at present no Minister at the Hague, and consequently no channel through which they could express their concern for your Interests. However willing too we are to receive and protect all persons who come hither with the Property they bring, perhaps it may be doubted how far it would be expedient to engage ourselves for that they leave behind, or for any other Matter retrospective to their becoming Citizens. In the present Instance we hope that no Confiscation of the Residuum of your Property left in the United Netherlands having taken place, the Justice of that Government will leave you no occasion for that Interference which you have been pleased to ask from this.

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

& most h'ble servt

TH: JEFFERSON

MR. VANDERKEMP.

The years that followed were full of struggle with the unaccustomed conditions of a new country, to which Mr. van der Kemp brought complete devotion, but little of the resourcefulness and conquering spirit of the typical pioneer. In 1794 he settled on the banks of Oneida Lake; was made an assistant justice of the peace—whence his subsequent title of "Judge"—and organized an Agricultural Society for the Western District of New York. In 1797 he removed to Olden Barneveld—later Trenton, in Oneida County, but recently renamed Barneveld. Here he built him a modest house, still standing; made a precarious existence for his family by gardening, but finding his chief pleasure in his books, in the constant application of his pen, and in a voluminous correspondence with John Adams, Thomas Jefferson and other statesmen and philosophers of his day. Here too he enjoyed the association of Col. Adam Gerard Mappa, a Dutch patriot who had been exiled from Delft, and who, coming to America, became agent for the Holland Land Company. At Olden Barneveld Col. Mappa built a fine

stone mansion in which he passed his last years. The house is still standing, an excellent example of domestic architecture of the Georgian period.* It was undoubtedly Col. Mappa who was Judge van der Kemp's companion on the fishing tour when De Witt Clinton met them, as described in his letter, above printed.

It was during the years that followed, from 1816 to 1825, that there passed between this sequestered Dutch savant and the Sage of Monticello the correspondence which follows—a correspondence which, as stated above, appears to be for the most part unpublished. Their earlier letters, at least on Jefferson's part, had been chiefly of a formal and official character; but their minds had a natural kinship in their fondness for philosophical speculation. Van der Kemp, among his numerous literary undertakings, projected or accomplished, had proposed to write a history of Christianity, or a life of Christ. Jefferson, to whom was sometimes attributed a most unorthodox breadth of view, especially for his espousal of some of the principles of Thomas Paine, had expressed great interest in this work, and had sent to Judge van der Kemp a copy of his Syllabus. The Syllabus itself is to be found in the published collections of Jefferson's writings. In the collection under notice is contained Jefferson's own manuscript copy, and also a copy, in his writing, of the following letter, which Jefferson originally sent with the Syllabus to Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia:

Apr. 21, 1803

DEAR SIR: In some of the delightful conversations with you in the evenings of 1798-99, the Christian religion was sometimes our topic; and I then promised you that one day or other I would give you my views of it. they are the result of a life of enquiry and reflection, and very different from that Anti-Christian system imputed to me by those who know nothing of my opinions. to the corruptions of Christianity I am indeed opposed, but not to the genuine precepts of Jesus himself. I am a Christian, in the only sense in which he wished anyone to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others, ascribing to himself

* Now owned by Mr. William S. Wicks of Buffalo.

every human excellence, & believing he never claimed any other. at the intervals since these conversations, when I could justifiably abstract myself from other affairs, this subject has been under my contemplation: but the more I considered it, the more it expanded beyond the measure of either my time or information. in the moment of setting out on a late journey, I received from Dr. Priestly* his little treatise of "Socrates & Jesus compared." this being a section of the general view I had taken of the field, it became a subject of reflection, while on the road, and unoccupied otherwise. the result was, to arrange in my mind a Syllabus, or Outline of such an Estimate of the comparative merits of Christianity as I wished to see executed by someone of more leisure and information for the task, than myself. this I now send you, as the only discharge of my promise I can probably ever execute. and in confiding it to you, I know it will not be exposed to the malignant perversions of those who make, of every word on the subject of religion, a text for misrepresentations and calumnies. I am moreover averse to the communication of my religious tenets to the public; because it would countenance the presumption of those who have endeavored to draw them before that tribunal, & to seduce public opinion to erect itself into that inquisition over the rights of conscience, which the laws have so justly proscribed. it behoves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others. it behoves him, too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, betraying the common right of independent opinion, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between god and himself.

This letter, like those that follow, exhibits some of Mr. Jefferson's peculiarities as a letter writer. He often—it would seem, usually—began his sentences with a small letter. He sometimes used forms of spelling not now accepted; his penmanship, often minute and delicately precise, was always

* Joseph Priestley, scientist and independent churchman. The treatise alluded to by Jefferson is perhaps an early draft of what appeared in 1804, the year of Priestley's death, with the title, "The Doctrines of Heathen Philosophy compared with those of Revelation."

as legible as was the thought clear and definite; while his concluding phrases were an example in high degree of an epistolary courtesy then in vogue, but now, alas, largely gone out of use.

The Syllabus, which occasioned much of the correspondence between Jefferson and Judge van der Kemp, and is perhaps essential to an understanding of the letters, is here printed from Mr. Jefferson's own manuscript, the peculiarities of the original, in spelling and arrangement, being preserved as far as possible:

SYLLABUS of an Estimate of the doctrines of Jesus compared with those of others. In a comparative view of the ethics of the enlightened nations of antiquity, of the Jews, & of Jesus, no notice should be taken of the corruptions of reason among the antients, to wit, the idolatry & superstition of their vulgar, nor of the corruptions of Christianity by the over-learned among its professors. Let a just view be taken of the moral principles inculcated by the most esteemed of the sects of antient philosophy or of their individuals; particularly Pythagoras, Socrates, Epicurus, Cicero, Epictetus, Seneca, Antoninus.

I. Philosophers. 1. Their precepts related chiefly to ourselves, & the government of those passions which, unrestrained, would disturb our tranquility of mind.* in this branch of philosophy they were really great.

2. In developing our duty to others they were short and defective. They embraced indeed the circles of kindred and friends, & inculcated patriotism or the love of our country in the aggregate, as a primary obligation: towards our neighbors & countrymen they taught justice, but scarcely viewed them as within the circle of

* To explain, I will exhibit the heads of Seneca's & Cicero's philosophical works, the most extensive of any we have received from the antients. of 10 heads in Seneca, 7 relate to ourselves, towit, deira, Consolatio, de tranquillitate, de constantia sapientis, de otio sapientis, de vita beatâ, de brevitae vitae. 2 relate to others, de clementia, de beneficiis, and 1 relates to the government of the world, de providentia. of 11 tracts of Cicero, 5 respect ourselves, viz. de finibus, Tusculanes, Academica, Paradoxa, de Senectute. 1 de officiis partly to ourselves, partly to others. 1 de amicitia relates to others. and 4 are on different subjects, to wit, de natura, de orum, de divinatione, de fato, and Somnium Scipionis. [Note by Jefferson.]

benevolence: still less have they inculcated peace, charity & love to all our fellow men, or embraced with benevolence the whole family of mankind.

- II. Jews. 1. their system was deism, that is, the belief in one only god. but their ideas of him & of his attributes *were degrading & injurious.*

2. their ethics were not only imperfect, but often irreconcilable with the sound dictates of reason & morality, as they respect intercourse with those around us. and repulsive & anti-social, as respecting other nations. they needed reformation therefore in an eminent degree.

- III. Jesus. In this state of things among the Jews, Jesus appeared. his parentage was obscure; his condition poor; his education null; his natural endowments great; his life correct & innocent; he was meek, benevolent, patient, firm, disinterested and of the sublimest eloquence.

The disadvantages under which his doctrines appear are remarkable.

1. like Socrates & Epictetus, he wrote nothing himself;

2. but he had not, like them, a Xenophon or Arrian to write for him. on the contrary, all the learned of his country, entrenched in it's power & riches, were opposed to him, lest his labors should undermine their advantages;

and the committing to writing his life and doctrines, fell on the most unlettered & ignorant of men; who wrote too from memory, and not till long after the transactions had passed.

3. according to the ordinary fate of those who attempt to enlighten & reform mankind, he fell an early victim to that jealousy & combination of the altar & the throne at about 33 years of age; his reason having not yet *attained the maximum of it's energy;* nor the course of his preaching, which was but of about 3 years, presented occasions of developing a *complete system of moral duties.*

4. hence the doctrines which he really delivered were *defective* as a whole.

and fragments only of what he did deliver have come to us, mutilated, mistated, & often unintelligible.

5. they have been still more disfigured by the corruptions of schismatising followers, who have found an interest in sophisticating & perverting the simple doctrines he taught by engrafting on them the mysticisms of a Graecian Sophist, frittering them into subtleties, & obscuring them with jargon, until they have caused good men to reject the whole in disgust, & to view Jesus himself as an impostor.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, a system of morals is presented to us which if filled up in the true style & spirit of the rich fragments he left us, would be the most perfect and sublime that has ever been taught by man.

The question of his being a member of the godhead, or in direct communication with it, claimed for him by some of his followers and denied by others is foreign to the present view, which is merely an estimate of the intrinsic merit of his doctrines.

1. He corrected the Deism of the Jews, confirming them in their belief of one only god, and giving them juster notions of his attributes and government.

2. His moral doctrines, relating to kindred & friends were more pure & perfect than those of the most correct of the philosophers, and greatly more so than those of the Jews.

and they went far beyond both in inculcating universal philanthropy.

not only to kindred & friends, to neighbors & countrymen, but

to all mankind, gathering all into one family, under the bonds of love, charity, peace, common wants, & common aids. a development of this head will evince the peculiar superiority of the system of Jesus over all others.

3. The precepts of philosophy, and of the Hebrew code, laid hold of actions only.

he pushed his scrutinies into the heart of man; erected his tribunal in the region of his thoughts; and purified the waters at the fountain head.

4. He *taught emphatically* the doctrine of a future state which was doubted or disbelieved by the Jews; and, wielded it with efficacy, as an important incentive supplementary to the other motives to moral conduct.

This estimate of the doctrines of Jesus was formulated, it will be noticed, during Jefferson's first term as President—in the year, it so happens, when he accomplished the purchase of Louisiana from Napoleon. It was thirteen years later, when he had finished his public career and was living in retirement at Monticello, that he communicated it to Judge van der Kemp, apparently in compliance with a request, with the following letter:

POPLAR FOREST NEAR LYNCHBURG Apr. 25, '16.

SIR: Your favor of Mar. 24 was handed to me just as I was setting out on a journey of time and distance, which will explain the date of this both as to time and place. The Syllabus, which is the subject of your letter, was addressed to a friend to whom I had promised a more detailed view, but finding I should never have time for that, I sent him what I thought should be the outlines of such a work. the same subject entering sometimes into the correspondence between Mr. Adams and myself, I sent him a copy of it. The friend to whom it had been first addressed dying soon after, I asked from his family the return of the original as a confidential communication, which they kindly sent me. so that no copy of it but that in possession of Mr. Adams, now exists out of my own hands. I have used this caution, lest it should get out in connection with my name; as I was unwilling to draw on myself a swarm of insects, whose buz is more disquieting than their bite. as an abstract thing and without any intimation from what quarter derived I can have no objection to it's being committed to the consideration of the world. I believe it may even do good by pro-


ducing discussion and finally a true view of the merits of this great reformer. persuing the same idea after writing the Syllabus I made, for my own satisfaction, an Extract from the Evangelists of the texts of his morals, selecting those only whose style and spirit proved them genuine, and his own; and they are as distinguishable from the matter in which they are imbedded as diamonds in dunghills. a more precious morsel of ethics was never seen. it was too hastily done, however, being the work of one or two evenings only, while I lived at Washington, overwhelmed with other business; and it is my intention to go over it again at more leisure. this shall be the work of the ensuing winter. I gave it the title of "the Philosophy of Jesus extracted from the text of the Evangelists." to this Sylabus and Extract, if a history of his life can be added, written with the same view of the subject, the world will see, after the fogs shall be dispelled, in which for 14 centuries he has been enveloped by Jugglers to make money of him, when the genuine character shall be exhibited, which they have dressed up in the rags of an Imposter, the world, I say, will at length see the immortal merit of this first of human Sages. I rejoice that you think of undertaking this work. it is one I have long wished to see written on the scale of a Laertius or a Nepos, nor can it be a work of labor, or of volume, for his journeyings from Judea to Samaria, and Samaria to Galilee, do not cover much country; and the incidents of his life require little research. they are all at hand, and need only to be put into human dress; noticing such only as are within the physical laws of nature, and offending none by a denial, or even a mention, of what is not. If the Syllabus and Extract (which is short) either in substance, or at large, are worth a place under the same cover with your biography, they are at your service. I ask one only condition, that no possibility shall be admitted of my name being even intimated with the publication. if done in England, as you seem to contemplate, there will be less likelihood of my being thought of. I shall be much gratified to learn that you pursue your intention of writing the life of Jesus, and pray to accept the assurances of my great respect and esteem.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Mr. van der Kemp appears to have lost no time in sending a copy—happily, not the original which Jefferson had confided to him—to a London editor; for it was published, October, 1816, in the *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*. He seems to have informed Mr. Jefferson of the disposition made of it, for a few weeks later he received the following letter:

MONTICELLO July 30. 16.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of July 14 is received, and I am entirely satisfied with the disposition you have made of the *Syllabus*, keeping my name unconnected with it, as I am sure you have done. I shall really be gratified to see a full and fair examination of the ground it takes. I believe it to be the only ground on which reason and truth can take their stand, and that only against which we are told the gates of hell shall not finally prevail. yet I have little expectation that the affirmative can be freely maintained in England. we know it could not here, for altho' we have freedom of religious opinion by law, we are yet under the inquisition of public opinion: and in England it would have both law and public opinion to encounter. the love of peace, and a want of either time or taste for these disquisitions induce silence on my part as to the contents of this paper, and all explanations & discussions which might arise out of it; and this must be my apology for observing the same silence on the questions of your letter. I leave the thing to the evidence of the books on which it claims to be founded, and with which I am persuaded you are more familiar than myself. Altho' I rarely waste time in reading on theological subjects, as mangled by our Pseudo-Christians, yet I can readily suppose Basanistos may be amusing. ridicule is the only weapon which can be used against unintelligible propositions. ideas must be distinct before reason can act upon them; and no man ever had a distinct idea of the trinity. it is the mere Abracadabra of the mountebanks calling themselves the priests of Jesus. if it could be understood it would not answer their purpose. their security is in their faculty of shedding darkness, like the scuttle-fish, thro' the element in which they move, and making it impenetrable to the eye of a



pursuing enemy, and there they will skulk, until some rational creed can occupy the void which the obliteration of their duperies would leave in the minds of our honest and unsuspecting brethren. whenever this shall take place, I believe that Christianity may be universal & eternal. I salute you with great esteem and respect.

TH : JEFFERSON.

MR. VANDERKEMP.

It is evident that at this time Judge van der Kemp contemplated a great work on Christian philosophy, stimulated, no doubt, by Jefferson's interest and sympathetic suggestions. A few months later this message came to Olden Barneveld:

POPLAR FOREST NEAR LYNCHBURG NOV. 24. 16.

DEAR SIR: I receive your favor of Nov. 1 at this place at which I make occasionally a temporary residence; and I have perused with great satisfaction the magnificent skeleton you inclose me of what would indeed be a compleat Encyclopedia of Christian philosophy. its execution would require a Newton in physics a Locke in metaphysics, and one who to a possession of all history, adds a judgment and candor to estimate its evidence and credibility in proportion to the character of facts it presents, and he should have a long life before him. I fear we shall not see this canvas filled in our day, and that we must be contented to have all this light blaze upon us when the curtain shall be removed which limits our mortal sight. I had however persuaded myself to hope that we should have from your own pen, one branch of this great work, the mortal biography of Jesus. this candidly and rationally written, without any regard to sectarian dogmas, would reconcile to his character a weighty multitude who do not properly estimate it, and would lay the foundation of a genuine christianity.

You ask if I have ever published anything but the Notes on Virginia? nothing but official State papers, except a pamphlet at the commencement of our difference with England & on that subject and another at the close of the revolution proposing the introduction of our decimal money, of

neither of which do I possess a copy.—Should a curiosity to see our part of the union tempt your friend Dr. Willoughby to come as far as Monticello, I shall be very happy to receive him there and to shew my respect for his worth as well as for your recommendation of it. Accept the assurance of my great esteem and consideration.

TH: JEFFERSON.

MR. VANDERKEMP.

Some report evidently reached Mr. Jefferson which made him fearful lest his identity as author of the Syllabus should become known. It stirred him to write in a vein far less placid than was his wont:

MONTICELLO, Mar. 16. 17.

DEAR SIR: I learn with real concern that the editor of the Theological Repository possesses the name of the author of the Syllabus. altho' he coyly witholds it for the present he will need but a little coaxing to give it out and to let loose upon him the genus irritabile vatum, there and here. be it so. I shall receive with folded arms all their hacking & hewing. I shall not ask their passport to a country which they claim indeed as theirs, but which was made, I trust, for moral man, and not for dogmatising venal jugglers. Should they however, instead of abuse, appeal to the tribunal of reason and fact, I shall really be glad to see on what point they will begin their attack. for it expressly excludes all question of supernatural character or endowment. I am in hopes it may find advocates as well as opposers, and produce for us a temperate & full developement. as to myself, I shall be a silent auditor.

Mr. Adams's book on Feudal law, mentioned in your letter of Feb. 2. I possessed, and it is now in the library at Washington which I ceded to Congress. in the same letter you ask if I can explain the phrase "il est digne de porter le ruban gris de lin." I do not know that I can. gris de lin is the French designation of the colour which the English call grizzle. the ruban gris de lin may be the badge of some association, unknown, I acknowledge, to me but to which the author from which you quote it may have some allusion. I shall be

happy to learn that you pursue your purpose as to the life of the great reformer, and more so in seeing it accomplished. I return the Repository with thanks for the opportunity of seeing it, and I pray you to accept my friendly and respectful salutations.

TH: JEFFERSON.

Mr. Jefferson appears to have been reassured without delay, for in May of that year he wrote to Judge van der Kemp as follows:

MONTICELLO, May 1. 17.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your letter of Mar. 30. my mind is entirely relieved by your assurance that my name did not cross the Atlantic in connection with the Syllabus. the suggestion then of the Editor of the Theological Repository was like those of our newspaper editors who pretend they know everything, but in discretion will not tell us, while we see that they give us all they know and a great deal more. I am now at the age of quietism, and wish not to be kicked by the asses of hierophantism. I hope you will find time to take up this subject. there are some new publications in Germany which would greatly aid it. to wit,

Augusti's translation & Commentary on the 7. Catholic epistles, in which he has thrown great light on the opinions of the primitive Christians & on the innovations of St. Paul printed at Lemgo 1808. in 2. vols. 8vo.

Palmer's Paul and Gamaliel. Giessen 1806.

Munter's history of dogmas. Gottengen 1806. showing the formation of the dogmatical system of Christianity.

Augusti's Manual of the history of Christian dogmas. Leipsic 1805.

Marheinacke's Manual of Ecclesiastical history. Erlangen 1806. developing the simple ideas of the first Christians, and the causes & progress of the subsequent changes.

I have not written for these books, because I suppose they are in German which I do not read; but I expect they are profoundly learned on their subjects.

In answer to your enquiries respecting Rienzi, the best account I have met with of this poor counterfeit of the Gracchi, who seems to have had enthusiasm & eloquence,

without either wisdom or firmness, is in the 5th & 6th vols. of Sigismondi. he quotes for his authority chiefly the Frammenti di Storia Romana d'anonimo contemporaneo. of the monk Borselaro I know nothing, and my books are all gone to where they will be more useful, & my memory waning under the hand of time.—I think Bekker might have demanded a truce from his antagonists, on the question of a hell, by desiring them first to fix it's geography. but wherever it be, it is certainly the best patrimony of the church, and procures them in exchange the solid acres of this world. I salute you with entire esteem and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.*

A brief note of slight consequence—save that it illustrates Mr. Jefferson's studied courtesy in small things—follows:

Th: Jefferson asks the favor of Mr. Venderkemp to make his thanks acceptable, if occasion should offer to the worthy lady miss Halshoff who has been so kind as through him to send him her interesting Republican Manuel. it is replete with the soundest principles of human independence, and I commiserate her sufferings in so holy a cause. gloomy however as is the present appearance of it's depression, it will rise again, and the information and spirit excited in Europe will persevere until governments shall be established in it's various countries in which the people will have a representative & controuling branch. he salutes Mr. Venderkemp with constant esteem & respect.

MONTICELLO Dec. 25, 17.

The next letter in the collection follows:

MONTICELLO Feb. 9. 18.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of Jan. 7. has been some time at hand. age, which lethargises all our movements, makes me a slow correspondent also, and revolts me strongly from the labors of the writing table. reading when I can be indulged in it, is the elysium of my present life.

You suppose I may possess essays and scraps, on various

* This and the preceding letter are given by Ford, X., pp. 77, 78, but with some errors, as shown by comparison with the Jefferson MSS.

subjects committed to paper, and lying buried in my desk. No, sir, I have nothing of the sort. my life has been one of unremitting labor, and that in a line entirely foreign to the sciences. it was my lot to be cast into being at the period of the commencement of a political convulsion, which has continued since to agitate the whole civilized globe. that commencement was in my own country, and under circumstances which placed in a state of requisition all the energies of the body and mind of every citizen. it's necessities dragged me from a life of retirement and contemplation, to which my natural propensities strongly inclined, to one of action and contention, and in the field of politics from which I was most averse. in this I have never had leisure to turn to right or left, to indulge for a moment in speculative meditations, much less to commit them to writing.

I return you the paper on incestuous marriages, in which you have proved beyond question that neither under the Mosaic, nor natural law is a man forbidden to take in second marriage the sister of his first. early in our revolution the legislature of Virginia thought it necessary that their code of laws should be revised, and made homogeneous with their new situation. this task was committed to mr. Wythe, mr. Pendleton and myself. among others, the law regulating marriages came under consideration. we thought it most orthodox and correct to copy into our bill the very words of the Levitical law. after continuing in force for some years, the permission to marry a wife's sister was thought to produce in practice jealousies and heartburnings in families, and even temptations to crime; and it was therefore repealed, not as in itself intrinsic guilt, but inexpedient as leading to guilt. this depends much on the family habits and intercourse of each country.

Not having replaced my set of the Philosophical transactions, I am not able to turn to the paper from which you quote the words 'the movements of nature are in a never-ending circle' etc. but I suppose they were in that which I wrote on the discovery of the bones of the Megalonyx. this animal was pronounced to be extinct, but I thought it might be doubted whether any particular species of animals or

vegetables, which ever did exist, has ceased to exist. this doubt is suggested by the consideration that if one species of organized matter might become extinct, so might also a 2d. a 3d. and so on to the last: and thus all organized bodies might disappear, and the earth be left without life or intellect, for the habitation of which it is so peculiarly prepared. a particular species of unorganized matter might disappear for a while, and be restored by the fortuitous concurrence & combination of the elements which compose it, but organized being cannot be restored by accidental aggregation of it's elements. it is reproduced only by it's seed. against it's loss therefore nature has made ample provision, by a profusion of seed, some of which, however inauspiciously scattered, may be sure to take effect. thus, the tree produces a seed, and the seed reproduces a tree. a bird produces an egg, and the egg a bird. an animal or vegetable body, after thus reproducing more or fewer individuals of it's own species, perishes, is decomposed, and it's particles of matter pass into other forms. not one is lost or left unemployed. the Universe is now made up of exactly the same particles of matter, not a single one more or less, which it had in it's original creation. so sung truly the poetical disciple of Pythagoras:

'Nec perit in tanto quicquam (mihi crede) mundo.'

this is the never-ending circle in which I observed that animal and vegetable natures are circulated and secured against failure thro' indefinite time.

Extending our views to the heavenly bodies, we know that certain movements of theirs, heretofore deemed anomalous and erratic, have been considered as indications of disorder, affecting the equilibrium of the powers of impulse and attraction which restrain them in their orbits, and threatening consequently their crush & destruction in time. yet De la Place has now demonstrated that these supposed irregularities are strictly in obedience to the general laws of motion, that they are periodical and secular; and that these members of the Universe also may continue moving in their orbits thro' indefinite time. yet I have not seen this demonstration of a possibility condemned by orthodoxy either of

religion or philosophy. it's only result is that if a time is to be when these bodies shall be brought to an end, it will not be from any defect in the laws of their continuance, but by another 'Sta Sol' of the Creator, by an arrest of their motion from the hand which first impressed it. nor indeed do I know that a belief in the eternity of the world is against the sound doctrines of the Christian faith. the eternity of two beings is not more incomprehensible to us than that of one. the eternity of the Universe, & that of the being who regulates it's order, preserves it's course, and superintends the action of all it's parts, may stand together, as well as either of them alone. and the most eminent divines have considered this coeternity as not inconsistent with the relation of the two beings as Cause and effect. where effect is produced by motion of parts, there they admit there must be priority & posteriority. but where effect is the result of will alone, they are simultaneous and coeval. and they maintain that the Creator must have willed the creation of the world from all eternity. the words of St. Thomas Aquinas are 'Constat quod quicquid Deus nunc vult quod sit, ab æterno voluit quod sit.—et necessarium videtur quod ab æterno creaturam in esse produxerit.' again 'quod enim primo dicitur, agens [*erasure in original*] de necessitate præcedere effectum qui per suam operationem sit, verum est in his que agunt aliquid per *motum*; quia effectus non est nisi in termino motus; agens autem necesse est esse etiam cum motus incipit. in his autem [*erasure in original*] quæ in instanti agunt hoc non est necesse.'—'deus ab æterno fuit jam omnipotens, sicut cum produxit mundum; ab æterno potuit producere mundum: consequentia certissima est, et antecedens verissimum.'—'si mundus non potuisset ab æterno esse, ex eo foret, quia non possunt esse in unico instanti simul causa et effectus, producens et productum. sed hoc falsum est.—potuit ergo, cum causa æterna effectus coæternus esse.' The sentiment you quote however neither necessarily involves this course of Cosmogony, nor does it imply any principle of the pantheism which you apprehend it might admit.

I have said so much on this subject that I am afraid you

will imagine I have been defending an *opinion*. not at all. it is a *doubt* only which I have been vindicating from the charge of puerility imputed to it by a writer,* whose greater ripeness of judgment was offended by the doubt. for it was expressed merely as a doubt whether any race of animals which ever did exist, has ceased to exist? for example the Sphynx, Cyclops, Centaur, Satyr, Faun, Mermaid, dragon, Phoenix? Cuvier indeed has proved to us by anatomising their remains, that several animals have existed, now unknown to us. but then follows the 2d inquiry, is it known that they are extinct? have all parts of the earth been sufficiently explored to authorize a confident assertion? e. g. the interior parts of N. & S. America, the interior of Africa, the polar regions Arctic & Antarctic, the Austrasian division of the earth, for we are no longer to talk of it's quarters? of this latter division, a small portion of it's margin only has been explored: and yet what singular and unknown animals have been found there! had a skeleton of one of these floated to our shores half a century ago, it would have been enrolled in the catalogue of 'species extinct.'

I think therefore still, there is reason to doubt whether any species of animal has become extinct; that this does not involve as a necessary consequence the eternity of the world; and, if it did, that we are authorised by the fathers of our faith to say there would be nothing unlawful in this consequence, and I have quoted the authorities of Theologians, rather than of Philosophers, because the former consider these as their natural enemies. for these quotations I am indebted to M. D'Argens.

You ask whether I have seen Cuvier's *essai sur la theorie de la terre*, or Brieslau's *introduction à la geologie*? I have seen neither: and in truth I am disposed to place all these hypothetical theories of the earth in a line with Ovid's

'Ante mare et terras et quod legit omnia coelum
Unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos; nidis indigestaque moles.'

for all their theories require the original hand of a Creator: & if his intervention is necessary, why should we suppose

* Dr. B——. [So in original MS.]

him to throw together a rude and indigested mass of matter, and leave it in chaos, unfinished, for millions of years, to work it's own way by mechanical fusions and aggregations, and by chemical affinities and fermentations into mineral forms, and animal and vegetable life? could not he, with the same ease, have created the earth at once, in all the perfection in which it now exists? and were the Genesis of the earth by Moses tradition, not revelation, instead of employing the Creator in detail thro' six days of labor, in one of which he says 'let there be light and there was light,' it would have better filled our ideas of his exalted power and wisdom, to have summed the whole in the single fiat of 'Let the world be, and it was.'

I am afraid that a letter, extended to such inordinate length, will make you doubt the truth with which it began, that I am averse to the labors of the writing-table. yet it is a real truth. but my subject sometimes runs away with me, without controul or discretion, until my reader as well as myself, is ready to welcome with gladness the valedictory assurance of my great esteem and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON.

The letter which follows, like the last, contains a good deal of self-revelation. At the date of its composition Jefferson had passed his 77th birthday. The inevitable weariness of age shows itself in his correspondence. He was still devoted to the promotion of the university which he had founded; was still faithful in letter-writing to his friends; but as the reader doubtless knows, his last years were burdened by financial loss and embarrassment, and care was his companion to the end:

MONTICELLO July 9. 20.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of June 25 is just now received, and I learn from it with much regret that too industrious an use of your eyes has seriously affected them. rest, during the visit you contemplate to Montezillo* may perhaps restore them. I envy you that visit, or rather lament that I have not wings to participate in it. I owe my friend there a

* Residence of John Adams, Quincy, Mass.

letter or two, not for want of inclination to pay the debt, but from a stiffening wrist, the consequence of an antient dislocation, which renders writing slow and painful. our fathers taught us 'never to put off to tomorrow what can be done today.' but this disorganization of the writing hand is leading me to an inversion of the maxim, by never writing today what can be put off to tomorrow. Your conjecture that the scrutoires of M. Adams and myself may contain useful things is probably half true. Mr. Adams's I hope does; but mine I assure you does not. my life has been one of meer business. the duties of the various offices in which I have acted, have employed my whole time too fully, to admit any collateral pursuit. the transactions of these offices have indeed been embodied chiefly in the letters they required me to write. but to look for anything valuable in that pile, would be seeking a needle in a haystack.

I trust with you that the genuine and simple religion of Jesus will one day be restored: such as it was preached and practiced by himself. very soon after his death it became muffled up in mysteries, and has been ever since kept in concealment from the vulgar eye. to penetrate and dissipate these clouds of darkness, the general mind must be strengthened by education. enlightened by its torch the disciples of religion will see that, instead of abandoning their reason, as the superstitions of every country requires, and taking for the will of their god whatever their own hierophants declare it to be (and no two of them declaring it alike) that god has confided to them the talent of reason, not to hide under a bushel, but to render him account of it's employment. I hope that day of restoration is to come, altho' I shall not live to see it, and to my prayers that it may come soon, I add those for your health and happiness.

TH: JEFFERSON

The note which follows, and the letter dated New York, 31st March, 1790, are the only ones in the collection not wholly in Jefferson's handwriting:

MONTICELLO, Aug. 3. 23.

DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of May 26. has laid too long by me awaiting an answer. the truth is that the diffi-

culty of writing has obliged me even when in better health to withdraw much from correspondence, and now an illness of some weeks, from which I am just recovering, obliges me to use a borrowed pen to acknowledge it's receipt. and indeed that is all I can do even now, my mind being entirely abstracted from all the business of the world political, literary, worldly or of whatever other form. my debility is extreme, permitting me to ride a little, but to walk scarcely at all. I am equal only to the passive occupation of reading. in this state of body and mind I can only assure my friends that I shall ever recollect with affection the pleasures their correspondence has afforded me, and shall pray without ceasing for their health, happiness & prosperity. among these I pray you to be assured that I entertain for yourself distinguished sentiments of esteem & high respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

Nearly six months later, evidently under the influence of improved health, Jefferson sent the following characteristic epistle to Judge van der Kemp:

MONTICELLO Jan. 11, 24.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of Dec. 28. is duly received. it gladdens me with the information that you continue to enjoy health. this is a principal mitigation of the evils of age. I wish that the situation of our friend Mr. Adams was equally comfortable, but what I learn of his physical condition is truly deplorable. his mind however continues strong and firm, his memory sound his hearing perfect, and his spirits good. but both he and myself are at that term of life when there is nothing before us to produce anxiety for it's continuance. I am sorry for the occasion of expressing my condolance on the loss mentioned in your letter. the solitude in which we are left by the death of our friends is one of the great evils of protracted life. when I look back to the days of my youth it is like looking over a field of battle. all, all dead! and ourselves left alone amidst a generation whom we know not, and who know not us.

I thank you beforehand for the book of your friend P.

Vreede of which you have been so kind as to bespeak a copy for me.—on the subject of my porte-feuille be assured it contains nothing but copies of my letters. in these I have sometimes indulged myself in reflections on the things which have been passing. some of them, like that to the Quaker to which your letter refers, may give a moment's amusement to a reader, and from the voluminous mass, when I am dead, a selection may perhaps be made, of a view which may have interest enough to bear a single reading. mine has been too much a life of action to allow my mind to wander from the occurrences pressing on it.

I have been lately reading a most extraordinary book, that of M. Flourens on the functions of the nervous system, in vertebrated animals. he proves by too many, and too accurate experiments, to admit contradiction, that from such animals the whole contents of the cerebrum may be taken out, leaving the cerebellum and the rest of the system uninjured, and the animal continue to live, in perfect health, an indefinite period. he mentions particularly a case of 10½ months survivance of a pullet. in that state the animal is deprived of every sense of perception, intelligence, memory and thought of every degree, it will perish on a heap of corn unless you cram it down it's throat. it retains the power of motion, but feeling no motive it never moves unless from external excitement. he demonstrates in fact that the cerebrum is the organ of thought, & possesses alone the faculty of thinking. this is a terrible tub thrown out to the Athanasians. they must tell us whether the soul remains in the body in this state, deprived of the power of thought? or does it leave the body, as in death? and where does it go? can it be received into heaven while it's body is living on earth? these and a multitude of other questions it will be incumbent on them to answer otherwise than by the dogma that everyone who believeth not with them, without doubt shall perish everlastingly. the Materialist, fortified by these new proofs of his own creed, will hear with derision these Athanasian denunciations. it will not be very long before you and I shall know the truth of all this, and in the mean

time I pray for the continuance of your health, contentment and comfort.

TH: JEFFERSON*

The last letter in the collection, written but seven months before its author's death, is in the same neat, precise and legible penmanship always characteristic of Jefferson. To the end he adhered to certain epistolary eccentricities:

MONTICELLO, Nov. 30. 25.

DEAR SIR: Your favor of the 16th is just received, and your silence in it on the subject of your health makes me hope it is good. a dozen years older than you are, I have no right to expect as good. I have now been confined to the house 6 months, but latterly get better, insomuch as, for a few days past, to ride a little on horseback. I duly received the favor of Mr. Vreede's book, & meant, in my first letter to you, to request you to return my thanks for it, to him. but this has been delayed by indisposition. I cannot however promise, what you seem to wish, to read it with sufficient attention to pass a judgment on it. although my eye-sight is so good as not to use glasses by day, either for reading or writing, yet constant occupation in the concerns of university permits me to read very little; and that of commercial science was never a favorite reading with me. the classics are my first delight, and I unwillingly lay them by for the productions of the day. Such a work as Flourens indeed commands a preference. I have lost my copy, by lending it, or I should have given you the reading of it with pleasure.

Our University, now the main business of my life, is going on with all the success I could expect. the Professors we obtained from England are of the highest order of science in their lines, and of excellent private characters. indeed we have been most fortunate in that selection. our term for the 1st year is near closing. at the opening of the 2d, which will be on the 1st of February, we shall have more students offering than we shall be able to accommodate. the pro-

* Ford gives this letter (X., p. 336) but has the date 1825. Though plainly addressed, on the outside of the folded sheet, to "Olden Barneveld, near Trenton, N. Y.," this letter as are two or three of the others, is marked "Missent to Trenton, N. J." They all bear Mr. Jefferson's frank.

vision made for them does not go beyond 250. or 260. we shall enlarge it as fast as we can. but Rome was not built in a day. the institution is on the most liberal plan, and very little expensive. Hoping you may continue to enjoy good health, and a life of satisfaction, as long as you think life satisfactory at all, I pray you to be assured of my affectionate good wishes & great esteem and respect.

TH: JEFFERSON

Mr. Jefferson's interest in science, and the philosophical habit of his mind, to both of which these letters bear witness, are facts familiar to all students of his career. His view of Christ, and his opinions of Christianity in its various aspects, are nowhere else set forth more clearly or explicitly than in this correspondence now for the first time given to the public.

Of Judge van der Kemp, so lately has his autobiography been edited and published, it will suffice here to note that he survived Mr. Jefferson some three years, and died on Sept. 7, 1829. His services rendered to history, in the translation of the Dutch Records of Colonial New York, will perhaps be better appreciated in days to come. The translation which he made is yet for the most part unpublished, but is accessible to all students of the subject, in the manuscripts office of the State Library at Albany.

NOTE. The van der Kemp manuscripts owned by the Buffalo Historical Society include the following:

1. His autobiography, addressed to his son J. J. van der Kemp of Philadelphia, 1817. It has been edited and published with other material under the title "Francis Adrian van der Kemp," &c., by Helen Lincklaen Fairchild, New York, 1903.
2. Address on the occasion of Judge van der Kemp's death, by Rev. T. B. Peirce, Sept. 10, 1829; and funeral sermon, Sept. 20, 1829. Unpublished.
3. Tour from the Hudson to Lake Ontario in 1792. Published, Buffalo Historical Society Publications, vol. II., 1880.
4. A Dutch Symposium. Unpublished.
5. Memoir on the use of Copper by the Greeks. Unpublished.
6. Researches on Buffon's and Jefferson's Theories in Natural History. About 300 closely written pages. Unpublished.
7. Miscellaneous autograph letters to Judge van der Kemp, mostly unpublished.
8. Eleven letters from DeWitt Clinton. Unpublished.
9. Letters from Thomas Jefferson, now first published.
10. Diplomas and commissions.

JOURNALS OF
HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

A RECORD OF COUNCILS WITH THE SENECA AND
TUSCARORA INDIANS AT BUFFALO AND
CATTARAUGUS IN THE YEARS
1838 AND 1839.

NOW FIRST PUBLISHED

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JOURNALS OF HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

INTRODUCTION.

Henry A. S. Dearborn, the author of the following journals, was the son of Major-General Henry Dearborn of Revolutionary fame, who also served with distinction in the War of 1812; it was he who captured York, now Toronto, in the spring of 1813, and Fort George on the Niagara. His career, as a soldier and as Secretary of War, is so well known to students of American history, and so fully set forth in many books, that further details here would be superfluous. The son, Henry Alexander Scamwell Dearborn, is also far from unknown in his country's annals. Born at Exeter, N. H., March 3, 1783, he graduated from William and Mary College in 1803, studied law under William Wirt, and had practiced that profession for some years when, in 1812, he succeeded his father as Collector of the Port of Boston, and as brigadier-general of militia commanding the defences of the harbor. He was with his father for a time on the Niagara frontier during the War of 1812; interesting allusions to those visits will be found in the journals which follow. In 1829 President Jackson removed him from the Boston collectorship. In the same year he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives; he was a member of the Governor's Council in 1830, and of the State Senate in 1831, in which year he was elected to Congress, serving as a Representative from Massachusetts until March, 1833. He was adjutant-general of Massachusetts, 1835-1843, when he was dismissed from office for having lent the State arms, during the Governor's absence, to the government of Rhode Island, the Dorr Rebellion being then in progress. In the years that followed Gen. Dearborn held many civic and other public offices. He was one of the origina-

tors of the plan for building Bunker Hill monument; was superintendent of a state survey for a canal from Boston to the Hudson River, and when that project was killed by the construction of the Great Western Railroad, he turned his attention to railroad interests, and was among the first to advocate the tunneling of Hoosac mountain. He was one of the originators of the plan for laying out Mount Auburn and Forest Hills cemeteries—the latter at his home city of Roxbury, Mass., of which he was mayor from 1847 till his death, July 29, 1851.

Gen. Dearborn was a voluminous writer, and although he published a number of works, he left behind several others in manuscript, including a "Life of Jesus Christ," "Life of Commodore Bainbridge," "Life of W. R. Lee, U. S. A.," a treatise on Grecian architecture, and other studies. His published works include: "Commerce of the Black Sea," with charts (3 vols., 1819); "History of Navigation and Naval Architecture" (2 vols.); "Defense of General Dearborn against the Attacks of General Hull"; "Internal Improvements and Commerce of the West," a series of letters, mostly written from Buffalo in the summer and fall of 1838 (Boston, 1839); and, besides numerous addresses and pamphlets, a "Sketch of the Life of the Apostle Eliot" (Roxbury, 1850); it was Gen. Dearborn who was chiefly instrumental in raising the monument to this devoted missionary to the Indians.

In the summer of 1838 Gen. Dearborn came to Buffalo as the Superintendent of Massachusetts—such was his official title—to be present at negotiations with the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, having in view their removal from their Western New York reservations to lands in Kansas. The history of that transaction is too long and involved to set forth fully, here; and indeed such a recital is unnecessary, for the main facts are matter of abundant record; perhaps most clearly and concisely presented in the "Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Assembly of 1888 to investigate the Indian Problem of the State." (Albany, 1889.) The treaty at Buffalo Creek, Jan. 15, 1838, provided among other things for the conveyance by the Senecas to Ogden & Fellows, of the entire Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, Cattaraugus and Alleghany reservations, for \$202,000. The Tuscaroras were to receive \$3,000, and the President was to sell the land which they owned in fee, to Ogden & Fellows, as owners of the "preëmptive right." The Senate made many amendments before ratifying this treaty, and added the important provision that it should be of no binding effect until it as amended should "be submitted and fully and fairly explained by a commissioner of the United States to each of such tribes or bands, separately

assembled in council, and they have given their full and voluntary assent thereto." It was this amended treaty that was submitted to the Senecas in council in August, 1838. The United States commissioner was Ransom H. Gillett. Massachusetts was interested because of that curious and troublesome agreement between that commonwealth and New York, in 1786, by which Massachusetts ceded to New York the "government, sovereignty and jurisdiction" over the disputed territory which is now Western New York, and New York ceded to Massachusetts "the right of preëmption of the soil of the native Indians and all other estate except of sovereignty and jurisdiction." It was this agreement which made Massachusetts a party to all negotiations with the Western New York Indians.

Commissioner Gillett, with Gen. Dearborn in behalf of Massachusetts, submitted the amended treaty to the Senecas, and it is Gen. Dearborn's journal of the events that then ensued, which in the following pages is now for the first time published. The effort was to obtain the signatures of a majority of the chiefs. Sixteen signed in council, and after the adjournment 15 more signed in different places; the irregularity of the proceedings giving rise to charges of bribery. In October Gen. Dearborn returned to Massachusetts, but was at once sent back to Buffalo to procure more signatures, enough to constitute a majority, though what that number should be was not easy to determine. The council did not reconvene, but the signatures of ten more chiefs were secured, 41 in all, the total number of chiefs being placed by the commissioner in his report at 81. President Van Buren sent the treaty to the Senate in January, 1840, with the statement in his accompanying message, that he believed improper means had been employed to procure the Senecas' signatures. However, the Senate ratified it and the President proclaimed it.

Then began a new agitation, on the part of the Senecas; the Quakers were especially active, with reports and memorials. Gov. Everett of Massachusetts and a committee of the General Assembly of that state, expressed the opinion that improper means had been brought to bear to procure the assent of the Senecas to the treaty. Finally, acting on the advice of Daniel Webster, the Society of Friends, through the Secretary of War, the Hon. John C. Spencer, brought about what is known as the compromise treaty of Buffalo Creek, concluded May 20, 1842, when the Ogden Company released and handed back to the Senecas the whole of the Alleghany reservation and the Cattaraugus reservation, and the Senecas gave up the whole of the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda reservations, the Ogden Company retaining the preëmptive right in both tracts then surrendered by the Indians.

There can be no doubt that improper means were used, to obtain the assents of the Seneca chiefs, in the councils of 1838; but there is no question as to the uprightness and sincerity of Gen. Dearborn. As his journal repeatedly shows, he was thoroughly convinced that the only salvation of the Indian lay in his removal to the West. The journal graphically records the violent scenes which marked the negotiations. The council house on the Buffalo reservation was burned, supposedly by Indians opposed to the removal. The animated debates between the advocates for and against emigration, developed into scenes of riot and violence, so that appeal was made to the military to preserve peace. It is an important chapter in the early history of Buffalo, the story of which has remained until now for the most part untold. Gen. Dearborn's observations on the condition of Buffalo in 1838, his predictions of the great city which would grow up on the Niagara frontier, his feeling allusions to his father, and their presence on the frontier during the War of 1812; even the Indian traditions which he wrote down from the narration of Cone the young Tonawanda, all combine to give interest and historic value to the journal which he kept, but which has lain unpublished until now.

In 1877 the State of New York purchased at a public sale a number of the manuscripts of Gen. Dearborn, including several volumes of his correspondence, and his journals. They are now preserved in the manuscripts department of the State Library at Albany. The journals now made public are for the most part printed according to the orthography of the original. A few of the crude pen sketches which adorn the manuscript are given; others, of no historic significance, being omitted.

F. H. S.

JOURNALS OF
HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

I was appointed on the 6th of July 1838, as Superintendent of Massachusetts, to attend councils of the Seneca & Tuscarora Indians, in the State of New York, in conformity to Articles of agreement between Massachusetts & N. York, which were entered into at Hartford, in Connecticut on the 16th. of Dec^r 1786. The conventions were to be held, to complete a treaty, made last winter, by the U. S. for the removal of all the Indians, in the state of N. York, west of the state of Missouri, & for the sale of the reservations at Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek & Tonawanda to Ogden & Fellows,—the grantees of the preëmptive right of Massachusetts.

I kept the following journal.*

H. A. S. DEARBORN,
Hawthorn Cottage Octo 15, 1838.

MEMORANDUM OF A JOURNEY TO THE NIAGARA FRONTIER,
FOR THE PURPOSE OF NEGOCIATING TREATIES WITH
THE SENECA & TUSCARORA TRIBES OF INDIANS.

August 2. I left my house in Roxbury at half past two for Boston & took a seat in the Rail-Road Cars for Stoning-

* Volume One of the manuscript journals here printed has for title-page the following: "Journal of an Expedition to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, made by H. A. S. Dearborn as Superintendent of Massachusetts, In the Months of Sepr. and October. 1838." The second manuscript volume, of the same journal continued, has for title: "Journal of a Mission to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, and an Account of the Treaties held with those Tribes, in the years 1838 and 1839, for the sale of their Lands and for their Emigration West of the Mississippi River, by H. A. S. Dearborn, Superintendent of Massachusetts. Vol. II."

ton at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3, where I arrived at half past 7, having traveled 78 miles in four hours. The Steam Boat being ready we pushed off immediately for New York & reached that city at seven in the morning.

August 3. Left New York in a steamboat for Albany at half past seven & arrived at seven in the evening. In passing up the Hudson several portions of the Croton Aqueduct, for supplying the city of New York with water, were visible, where the men were engaged in the construction of that magnificent & truly Roman work. Four thousand laborers, I was informed, were engaged in the excavations & masonry.

August 4. I met Thomas Ludlow Ogden Esq. of New York, one of the grantees of the preëmptive right to the lands of the Seneca & Tuscarora tribes of Indians, which belonged to Massachusetts, & we left Albany in the railroad cars for Utica 9 o'clock & arrived there at 3 in the afternoon, where we dined. The route was very interesting & beautiful. On the opposite bank of the Mohawk river runs the Erie Canal, & between the railroad & the left bank of the river is the turnpike road, thus presenting at one view four lines of communication, with a width of a few rods, in the rich & luxuriant valley of that picturesque river. The farmers were in the midst of their wheat harvest. At 4 we took passage in a Canal Boat for Syracuse, where we arrived at 6 the next morning. The canal has not a single lock in that long level of 60 miles. The night was warm, the sky clear [with a] constant change of scenery, from cultivated fields & primeval forests. We saw several little camps of Oneida Indians, during the evening where fires were kindled, for their evening repast. They are employed in cutting wood for the salt works at Syracuse. I heard the Whip-poor-will, for the first time during many years. The canal packet boat is very comfortable & I like much that mode of conveyance. We went on at the rate of about 4 to five miles an hour.

August 5. Left Syracuse, at 8 o'clock, in a car drawn by two horses, on the rail road for Auburn. Syracuse is a flourishing town, & the salt works are rapidly increasing. Coal however must soon be substituted, for fuel as wood

will be scarce, as the farms are multiplied & improved. They will be able to obtain coal from a mine, about being wrought in the northern borders of Pennsylvania, & which can be brought by a railroad, to the waters communicating with Seneca Lake & down that lake to the Erie Canal. There is also a valuable deposit of iron ore near the coal mine, which will ultimately furnish a vast quantity of cast & malleable iron, for this region of country.

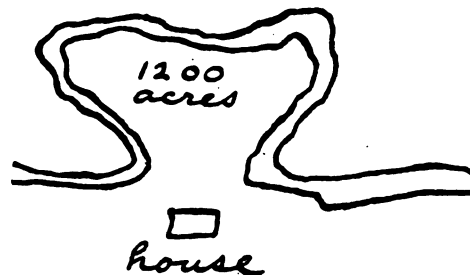
Arrived at Auburn in two hours. The most beautiful town on the route. Proceeded in a stage to Geneva on the west bank of Seneca Lake where we dined & got to Canadagua [Canandaigua] at seven.

August 6. I have passed a distance 630 miles in three days & 3 hours, & slept comfortably each night. Gad! what wonders has steam produced & what still greater are yet to be developed,—*nous verons*. Mr. Gillet the U. S. Commissioner to hold treaties with the New York Indians came from Buffalo & arrived this morning & informed me the council with the Senecas would not be held before the 16th. I dined with Mr. Gregg, who resides in Canadagua. He has a magnificent House, which cost 60,000 dollars,—a well arranged garden, green house & small park, in which there are a buck, three does & two fawns. He has 40 acres of land connected with his seat. Mr. Granger has a superb house, & there are many handsome dwellings in the town.

August 7. Mr. Fellows, one of the preëmptive owners of the Indian land, arrived from Geneva last night. He is the agent for the family of Sir William Pultney, who bought a large tract of the grantees of the preëmptive right of Mass. We left for Avon at nine, where we dined & passed the night. There are mineral springs in this town, which are beginning to be much frequented. We visited the principal one, which flows in sufficient quantity to carry a small water wheel for pumping the water into boilers & cisterns for the bathing house. They are impregnated with lime, soda, magnesia & iron. Saw Com^r Creighton at Avon, he having been there some weeks & had been nearly cured of the rheumatism, from bathing in & drinking the water.

August 8. Went on to Mr. Wadsworth's in Geneseo.

He has a tract of bottom land of 1,200 acres which is perfectly level, & of the richest quality, the soil being alluvial & at least 16 feet deep. There are groves, clumps of trees & single trees, including all those common to this state, scattered over it in just sufficient numbers to give the whole a park-like & picturesque appearance. They cover about 200 acres, but under them there is no under wood, & the whole is either in grass or under cultivation, with wheat, corn & potatoes. The river makes a detour of nine miles & approaches within one at the narrowest point. Thus:



The house is on the declivity of the river bank which rises at least 150 feet & from the piazza the whole tract is visible, & a vast region of country beyond & up & down the river. Mr. Wadsworth has 500 head of cattle which are for beef, 2,500 sheep & a dairy of 80 cows, in which is made daily a cheese of from 100 to 150 pounds. The cheese is sold chiefly at the farm at 10 cents per pound for the supply of the neighboring towns as far as Rochester.

James Wadsworth, son of the above named gentleman, has a farm of 1,500 acres a mile or two below & a new & magnificent house. We visited the Portage falls of the Genesee river on the 10th. They are 22 miles above Mr. Wadsworth's house. There are three within two miles, the 1st 70 feet, 2d 96 & 3d 75 feet perpendicular fall. The banks of the river are perpendicular & consist of horizontal strata of lime, slate & sandstone; they are over 200 feet high in many parts of the gorge. The whole descent in 3 miles is between 400 & 500 feet.

Mr. Wadsworth & his brother with six hired men & a black woman as cook moved to Geneseo in 1791.* They brought a waggon & three yoke of oxen. When they got to Utica, the late General Wadsworth, went on with the team & men by an Indian trail, cutting down trees, making bridges, and crossing the streams on rafts, while the present Mr. Wadsworth had a boat made & descended Wood creek to Oneda [Oneida] lake, then the Oswego river to Lake Ontario & coasted the lake to the north of the Genesee, with their principal effects. After transporting them above the falls at Rochester, they were transported in a boat to their new home. They found three Indian bands in the vicinity & one on their land. At that time there was no white man lived west of Utica & at that place there was only one family in a log hut. for seven years there were no settlers nearer than Geneva & it was 12 before the tide of emigration reached the Genesee river valley.

They found a man by the name of Jones† living with the Indians on their land. He was made a prisoner by the Seneca Indians in 1777, within 75 miles of Philadelphia. He was a prisoner until the peace of 1783, & having been adopted by the tribe was made a chief. He married a girl who had been captured by whom he had three sons, & one

* It was in the spring of 1790 that the Wadsworth brothers, James and William, came into the Genesee country as above described; they "located" on the present site of Geneseo, June 10, 1790.

† For the history of this "man by the name of Jones," i. e., Capt. Horatio Jones, see Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., pp. 381-514. His first wife, Sarah Whitmore, died in June, 1792. In the summer of 1795 he married Elizabeth Starr. It was apparently in the three years' interim between these dates that he took an Indian consort, by whom he had a son, William, whose name frequently occurs in the early history of Buffalo. He lived on the Buffalo Creek reservation, and it is probably his house that is shown in a wood-cut in Stone's "Life of Red Jacket," as standing near Red Jacket's log cabin, and described as "residence of Jones, the interpreter." He was son-in-law to the wife of Red Jacket. Adequate data of Horatio Jones's Indian family are lacking. One of his descendants by his first wife, now Mrs. C. B. Gunn of Leavenworth, Kas., writes to the editor of this volume: "The descendants [by the Indian woman] have been very worthy. One girl, Lucy N. Jones of Pipestone, Minn., has written me some very readable letters. She is a great-granddaughter of Horatio Jones, as well as of Mary Jemison, the 'White Woman.' . . She is a graduate of Hampton and Haskell institutes. She is a teacher at Pipestone agency."

of them a wealthy farmer opposite Geneseo, is attending this Council with Mr. James Wadsworth. When his mother died, his father had an Indian wife, or mistress rather, by whom he had one son, who is now a chief & in the council. By a third wife, who was white, he had 12 children & died three years since a wealthy & highly respectable farmer & large land proprietor. Two of his sons by his first wife were killed in the battles of Chippawa & Lundy's Lane.

A canal is constructing up the valley of the Genesee river to the waters of the Allegheny river, thus opening a water communication from Rochester to Pittsburg. How magnificent are the internal improvements of this state, which have been made an are [? era] in progress.

Wheat is \$1.25 per bushel; from 15 to 30 bushels are raised this year to the acre.

August 11. I found Professors Renwick* & the Reverend Doct. McVicon, of Columbia College at Mr. Wadsworth's. The former was on a mineralogical exploration for a company of gentlemen in New York, to find bituminous limestone, like that recently employed in France & England, which came from Switzerland, to make asphaltic pavements, roofs of houses, cisterns, &c. &c. He had discovered the material in great abundance on a stream about 20 miles southeast from Geneseo, & I saw him melt it, by the addition of about 20 per cent. of bitumen or Jew's pitch. This limestone when fractured swells often & the lime stone near Mr. Wadsworth's house is also impregnated with bitumen. This may be an important discovery to the country.

I left Mr. Wadsworth's hospitable mansion this morning in company with Professor Renwick, for Batavia. We passed through a luxuriant wheat country. A thunder shower in the afternoon. There is a railroad from Batavia

* James Renwick, a prominent scientist of his day, born in Liverpool in 1790, died in New York Jan. 12, 1863. He came with his parents to this country in 1794; graduated at Columbia College, and was an instructor there in natural philosophy when the War of 1812 began. He became a topographical engineer, with rank as major. From 1820 to 1853 he was professor of chemistry and physics at Columbia. In 1840 he was one of the commissioners to survey the boundary line between the United States and New Brunswick. He was the author of numerous works, among them a life of DeWitt Clinton.

to Lockport & from thence to Buffalo, & there is one to be made from Batavia to Buffalo.*

August 12. We left at half past ten for Buffalo in the stage, the road horribly bad to within eleven miles of the city when an excellent McAdamized pavement rendered the night delightful. What a grand & imposing sight, does the city & Lake Erie present from the highland which slopes down to the shore of that American Caspian. The harbor thronged with ships, brigs, schooners, steam & Coal Boats. We entered Buffalo at seven.



August 13. I went with Professor Renwick in the railroad cars. How changed the condition of the country, since I was here in July, 1813. Then there was no road to the falls save a track for teams & that generally impassable. I was obliged to go down to Fort Schlosser in a Batteau & now there is a steamboat running daily, a canal to Tonawanda, thronged with boats, a railroad & good county road. Then there were only about 30 houses in Buffalo, which were burnt down by the British the following winter & now there is a beautiful city containing at least 16,000 inhabitants, with many superb private [and] public edifices.†

* The first railroad in Erie County was a horse-car line, Buffalo to Black Rock, three miles, opened in 1834. The first steam railroad, Buffalo to Niagara Falls, was opened on Aug. 26, 1836, from Buffalo to Tonawanda, and to Niagara Falls, Nov. 5th of that year. At the date of Gen. Dearborn's visit several railroad projects were in the air, but it was not until Jan. 8, 1843, that the next line to be built, Buffalo to Attica, was opened. This was subsequently operated in connection with other lines afterwards merged in the New York Central. The first direct railroad from Buffalo to Batavia was opened in 1850.

The Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* of Aug. 28, 1838, said: "Tonawanda Railroad.—We are pleased to learn that increased facilities for the fall business are contemplated for this excellent road. Another splendid new locomotive, with greatly increased power, is to be added, making three in all; with several new passenger cars, on an improved plan, combining comfort, convenience, and greater safety against accident. The arrangements making will enable the company to carry across the road, on short notice, five hundred passengers in one train of cars! Thirty new freight cars are also to be added, which will ensure the speedy transmission of merchandise and produce. The road is now in first-rate order, allowing the cars to run through with speed not surpassed perhaps by any in the country. It is worthy of remark that during the eighteen months the road has been in operation, in which time some 50,000 passengers have been carried over it, not a single one has been injured by accident. The engineer department is filled, as we are assured, by the most able engineers, sober, careful and experienced men. Under such management, the public will be well served."

† In 1835 Buffalo's population was 15,661; in 1840, 18,234.

We went on to Goat Island & after examining all the remarkable views on the American shore, I crossed after dinner to the Canadian bank, in a small row boat, just below the Cataract. Went to the Pavilion Hotel, wrote a note to Col. Booth, commanding the troops at this position, & asked at what hour I might do myself the honor of waiting on him. He sent for me immediately. I informed him I was very anxious to see a parade of British troops, but regretted to hear that they did not turn out either that evening or the next morning. He said I should be gratified, for he would order a parade at any hour I might name the next morning. Half past 6 was agreed on & the celebrated 43d Regiment & a demi-Battalion of Artillery were drawn up, for review, & the Col. desired I should receive the salutes. He then carried them through the manual & performed many manoeuvres. They acquitted themselves admirably.

The uniform coat of the 43d. Infantry is lined in front with white woolen webbing & the skirts turned up with white, white fringe wings, white cuffs & white buttons. Caps black felt of this form:  with a brass plate in front & blue pom-
above the cap, & brass scale  pon ball
straps to confine it under the covered
geants, having herring bone chin. Ser-
lace on the
upper arm of the coat. Sash, white & crimson, tucking 3
inches wide round the waist with crimson tassels which hang
down on the left thigh in front with a bow knot. Scabbard
& Cartridge box, black leather with white belts. White
pantaloon, & shoes that lace in front. Artillery: Blue coats
with yellow lace, Pantaloon blue with a broad red welt on
the out side.

Memorandum made at Niagara Falls, August 14, 1838:

1. Doct S. Says that the falls have receded, in nine years considerably.
2. The exact positions of the cataracts have been ascertained, by a trigonometrical survey, so that the gradual change or destruction of any portion can be known, with great exactness, at any time in future.
3. An officer of the British navy has made accurate

hydrographical surveys of the lakes which are being published in England.

N. B. The Doct S. above referred to is Surgeon Genl. of the British troops in Canada, who I saw but forget his name.

The upper strata of the falls are hard compact limestone, but the lower are of an argillaceous and sandy formation which easily crumbles & decomposes by the action of the falling water & continually tumbling down leaves the upper strata hanging over the abyss, until at last the whole falls down & thus the cataracts are constantly receding.

There are about 50 houses & other edifices scattered along the Canada shore opposite the falls & a village of some 30 more houses about half a mile from the falls, called Drummondsville or Lundy's Lane.

The 43d Regiment & a demi-Batⁿ. of light artillery are stationed at a camp directly opposite Goat Island, on the bank of the Niagara. Col. Booth commands. He was with Wellington in Spain & Portugal, France & Belgium & has been 35 years in the 43d. Regt. He is a tall well made & elegant officer.

After breakfast I visited the battle ground of Lundy's Lane, & then rode down to that of Chippawa, which is two miles south of the river & village of that name. Chippawa is in a state of decadence. There was [not] a single vessel or boat, or any appearance of business. I continued my ride up the bank of the Niagara to Waterloo, opposite Black Rock. The land is excellent, being a level plain about 12 feet above the water from Chippawa to the lake, but the houses are miserable & the whole appearance of the country indicates poverty, & want of enterprize. Crossed the river & took the horse power rail-road track to Buffalo.

Soon after my arrival, Genl. Potter called on me & stated that Genl. Gillet had returned from the Oneida tribe & went down to Niagara falls last evening where he learned I had gone & intended to go with me to hold a Council with the Tuscarora Indians. I took a seat in the cars at five but owing to the Locomotive having been thrown from the track the day before horses were used & the load of passengers & baggage being great I did not reach the falls until nearly ten,

when I learned that Mr. Gillet had concluded the business with the Tuscaroras & they had that day signed the treaty. I was very tired having but [been] up and in constant motion from 5 in the morning until 10 at night & besides much walking had rode 50 miles in that time. I was lulled to sleep by the roar of the mighty Cataract.

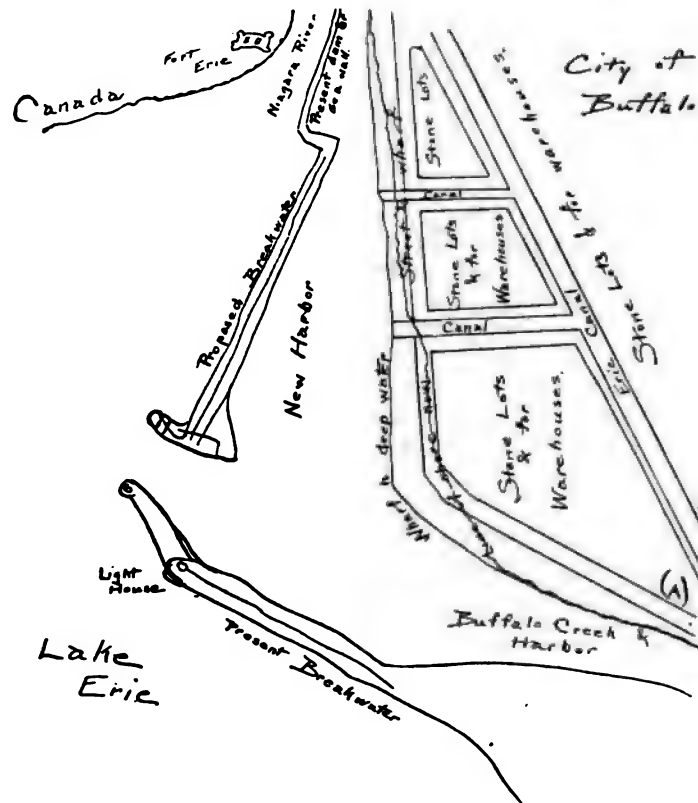
August 15. Mr. Gillet accompanied me to the Tuscarora settlement & I visited the principal chiefs to ascertain whether the Indians were generally satisfied with the sale of their land & the treaty for emigrating west of the Mississippi. They assured me that there were not over a dozen indians who were opposed to the sale & treaty.

We went back to the falls & dined & at three oclock took the rail-road car for Schlosser, where we embarked in the Steamer Red Jacket for Buffalo where we arrived at seven.

August 16. Remained in Buffalo.

August 17. I went out to Allens tavern on the Seneca Reservation of Buffalo Creek distant six miles & met the Chiefs in Council at twelve oclock, but as those from the Alleghany Reservation had not arrived it was concluded best to adjourn to Monday the 20th. A temporary Council House had been erected by Judge Stryker the Indian Agent, as those of the indians were small, distant & inconvenient.

August 18. I returned to Buffalo last evening & have walked over a large portion of the city this day. The present harbor is too small & must be extended, & I am confident it must be formed between the mouth of Buffalo Creek & the Niagara river. The creek is too narrow to subserve the purposes of a harbor, for even now it is filled up with vessels & boats of all kinds. The proposed south channel which has been commenced from the Creek to the Lake, will be difficult to enter in stormy weather & be liable to be filled up by sand, driven in to it, during gales of wind. Besides, the land, sloping to the lake & Niagara river from the main street is high, & admirably formed for building upon, while that southeast of the street is low, flat & is often overflowed. The plan I prepare is shown in the following diagram, and it will be certainly made in TEN YEARS, and SOONER COMMENCED.



August 19. Sunday. I am not well having taken cold on the 17th.

August 20. I came out to Allen's tavern on the Buffalo reservation this forenoon. The Council House was burnt down last night about one o'clock, & it is supposed it was done by the Indians who are opposed to emigration.* We

* The Buffalo Commercial Advertiser of Monday, Aug. 20, 1838, said: "The new Council House in Seneca (Indian) village, about six miles east of this on the Indian Reservation, was consumed by fire, this morning. The circumstances attending the erection and destruction of this building are these, as we learned them from Mr. Allen, who keeps the tavern at the village, and built the house. It appears that a portion of the Seneca nation who are opposed to the consummation of the treaty to sell their lands, objected strenuously to the

therefore held the Council in a beautiful grove, east of the tavern. Mr. Gillet made a speech & stated the object of the meeting. I also addressed the Indians, & explained why I had been sent as Superintendent of Massachusetts. There were between 80 & 90 chiefs & principal warriors present. I wrote the Governor & sent him a copy of my speech, taken from recollection of what I said.

August 21. Met the Indians in Council.

August 24. Mr. Gillet concluded his explanations of the amended treaty & the Indians remained to deliberate on the subjects submitted.

August 25. The Indians were in Council all this day & at sunset I went into the City where I passed the night at the American Hotel, which is more richly furnished than any other in the U. S. The building was built by the notorious speculator Rathbon [Rathbun] & cost 100,000 dollars & the furniture 50,000.

August 27. Buffalo reservation. I went down to White Haven on Grand Island on the 26th, in the Red Jacket to pass the day with my friend the Hon. Stephen White on Sunday the 26th. He took me in a boat over to Tonnawanda Island where he is building a Brick House. It is a beautiful spot. There are about one hundred acres in the island of level & excellent land. Some 10 acres are cleared & the rest is covered with forest trees & primitive & secondary growth. There is an Indian mound on the eastern side of the island 30 feet in diameter & 12 feet high. It has been opened & many bones, lead pipes & flintstone arrow heads found in it.

There is a Steam Saw mill on Grand Island, in which are six gangs of saws, of from 9 to 10 in each. They saw white

holding of a council in the old Council House, for the purpose of confirming the treaty as amended by the Senate. Accordingly, Mr. Allen, by the advice of the party in favor of the treaty, constructed a rude but commodious house for the holding of the proposed council, which we believe was to have been holden this present week. Between the hours of one and two this morning, the building was discovered on fire, and from the various points at which the fire was raging at the same time, there is no doubt that it was communicated by some person or persons, to several parts of the building, with the intention of destroying it. Fire was also communicated to some straw within a few feet of the barn belonging to the tavern, and much exertion was required to save the building. This is, we think, but an expression of the feeling that at present exists among that portion of the Seneca Nation, who are hostile to the proposed treaty."

oak plank chiefly & the logs are from 18 inches to five feet in diameter & from 40, & 50 to 75 feet long. Each gang of saws cuts from five to six logs a day, making from 25 to 30 according to the length & size. The plank are sent down the Canal to Albany & from thence shipped to N. York, Boston, Portland & other seaports. Many are sent to the U. S. Navy Yard as well as keel & other timber. The Island is 10 miles long & six broad & contains about 15,000 acres.*

I returned to Buffalo on the evening of the 26th. & came out here this morning. At last after 95 days the weather changed from a continued heat yesterday morning, there having been a thunder shower the day before & this morning there is a cold rain storm. I put on a cloak for the first time, since June. The Indians have been in council all this day.

August 28. The Indians have been in council the last two days, by themselves. The Indians, by the contract with Ogden & fellows,—the representatives of the grantees of the preemptive right of Massachusetts, are to be paid 202,000 for the lands belonging to the Seneca reservations, which are as follows;—

Buf ^o Creek Res ⁿ	49,920	acres
Cattaraugus reservation.....	21,680.	
Alleghany “.....	30,469.	
Tounawanda “.....	12,800	
<hr/>		
Acres.....	114,869	
Tuscarora Reservation	1,920	
for which 9,600 dollars is to be paid.		

Total quantity.....116,789 Acres

Amount of money to be paid to the Indians by the United States.

For a cession of the land owned by the Indians or rather granted to the N. York indians, but which grant was in fact null as they did not remove from N. York on to the land before Jany 1837, were about 600 Oneidas, & the Stock-bridgs, to wit,

* More accurately, 17,381 acres.

To the onehand Party of Oneidas.....	3,000
“ “ First Christian party of Onidas.....	30,500
	<hr/>
	33,500

which is to reimburse the indians for money expended by them & in remuneration of the services of their chiefs & agents in purchasing & securing a title to their reservation. This is by a treaty concluded with the Green Bay Indians at Washington on the 3d of Feby. 1838.

Amount to be paid to the New York Indians by the United States for the expense of removing them to their new home in the West,—for building school houses, council houses, churches, mills, black smith's shops, domestic animals, agricultural tools & instructions in the arts, agriculture & education.....	400,000
	<hr/>
	433,500

expenses of exploring parties, council & missions to Washington	16,500
Add to the amount paid by Ogden & fellows for Seneca reservations	202,000
“ for Tuscarora Resn.....	9,600
	<hr/>

Amount to be paid in money.....	661,600
A tract of land 104 miles long & 27 wide granted to the Indians west of Missouri, containing 1,824,000 acres, which at $1\frac{1}{4}$ dols per acre amounts to..	2,280,000
	<hr/>

Total amount	2,941,600
The land in the Indian country cost about 100,000 dollars & the Green Bay purchase 33,500. but put the cost an value of the latter at $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollars per acre, and as 60,000 acres were reserved for the indians who reside there, & the remainder 440,000 amounts to	550,000
which deduct from the amount stated as granted by the U. S. & Ogden & Fellows of 2,957,000 dollars & it leaves 2,407,000 dollars & deducting therefrom the amount paid by Ogden &	

Fellows of 211,600 & it leaves the whole amount which the U. S. gives 2,195,400, for the benefit of the Indians. & as an inducement to emigrate.

The indians receive annuities from the state of New York amounting to \$17,137.92

The annuities from the United States amounts

to the Senecas	6,000
to the Six nations	4,500

The number of Indians is as follows

Senecas at Buffalo 730 Tounawanda 440 Cattaraugus	
440 Alleghany 600 making.....	2,309*
Tuscaroras	273

2,582

St. Regis have in the U. S. a reservation of 10,000 acres. the fee belongs to N. York. population from 6 to 700 but in U. S. reservation only..... 350
Cayugas. There are about 130 remaining in the U. S. 130
They own no land, many years since, having sold their land & gave the Senecas 800 for permission to reside on their land.

Onondagas. They have a reservation in Onondaga County of 6,000 acres & 300 reside on the land, & 194 reside with the Senecas for which they paid 1,500 dols. population 494
Oneidas They own 5,000 acres which is occupied by about 620
600 reside at Green bay on land bought of the Menomones.

Total in N York.....	4,176
A Green Bay &c.....	1,309

Total New York Indians..... 5,485

August 29. The Indians have been in Council by themselves all day.

I walked into the wood to ascertain the kinds of trees shrubs & herbacious plants which are indigenous to this part

* Wrong, but as in original.

of the Union. I find a tree called the cucumber & a variety of the poplar not in the forests of Mas^{ts} also the Tulip tree and a vine of the Smilax family, with berries arranged in a ball two inches in diameter. There are numerous mandrake plants. Most of the fruit is now ripe, & in that state is of a rich yellow color, with a redish brown shade on the sides, an near the stem or blossom end & delicately dotted with minute redish brown spots. The skin is thick & encloses a rich juicy pulp, which has the aroma & flavor of the pine apple. It is very agreeable & considered healthy. The plant is herbacious & perennial I believe, from an examination of the roots. It grows in rich moist lands, in the woods, & on the bottom land of the river & streams. There are many seeds in the fruit, & I have saved a number to plant in my garden; for besides the fruit, the plant is handsome, from its large leaves & white blossom. There is only one fruit on a plant. The plant is from a foot to 20 inches high. The fruit is of a flatish form, being about a third broader than it is thick. The stem is inclined from one of the broad sides to the other. [The author's rough sketches of the mandrake fruit are omitted.]

The Indians smoke the bark of several shrubs & this forenoon Mr. Jones went out & brought two of them. One is a Cornus & the other a small species of the willow growing on the banks of streams, with a redish bark. They also use the cones of a dwarf kind of Sumac. These substitutes for tobacco are called Kin-a-ka-nick. The same term is common to all the northern tribes, it is said. I know it is used by the Penobscots.

All the indian tribes are divided into 9 Clans, called the Bear, Beaver, Wolf, Deer, Snipe, Turtle, Hawk, Swan. There were 9 clans, but the Buck & Doe became united into one, or rather one of them became extinct & the other assumed the name of the Deer. The clans cannot intermarry. Each clan has its own chiefs, & peculiar names, which have ever existed. When a chief dies the vacancy is filled by the clan to which the deceased belonged & other clans have no voice in the choice but all the chiefs meet to induct him into office. Most of the chiefs assume a name characteristic of

the office they hold. Indians receive a name when born & another is given when they are 16 years old a third when they are men & a 4th when 30 years old & they may then take any other name, which they may please to adopt.

Ho nart har yo ne	Wolf	Ho de swek gie a	Chicken Hawk
Har de nyr deh	Turtle	Ho de na se a	Snipe
Ho de geh ga gr	Beaver	Ho de die ok gr	Swan
Ho de jo ne gr	Bear	Ho de vigo gwie a	Deer

Sep 26. 1838. The above names of the Indian Clans, or families was given me by Cone, of the Tonawanda Reservation.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

August 30. The weather has been cool since the morning of the 20th, especially the nights. I found on the edge of the woods yesterday a vine of the *Clamatis*, like that common in Massachusetts N. Hampshire & Maine.*

Many of the Indian chiefs & warriors of this tribe were in the last war, & several distinguished themselves in the battle of Chippawa; White seneca killed four Chippawa Indians in single combat, with the tomahawk; he is now about 50 years old, & is a stout & vigorous man.

There is an old man in this tribe who calls himself a prophet. He belongs to the Pagan party & pretends to converse with angels & even with the great spirit & like Swedenberg, goes to heaven & hell when he chooses. He reports having seen several of the leading chiefs who are in favor of emigration standing in a stream of melted lead, up to their knees, as a punishment for their conduct. Alas! for human nature. In all ages & among all nations cunning, superstition & deception have rendered the influence of priests,—the self created prophets of the savage & civilized man, powerful & dominant. They have wielded the sceptre of terror over the Phareos of Egypt & the christian monarchs of Europe, & made the wild Arab as well as the armies of Greece, Rome & the Crusades subservient to their am-

* Probably the common *Clematis virginiana*. Gen. Dearborn, as the journal shows, was a student of botany and devoted to horticulture, but his botanical allusions are far from accurate.

bition & influence. The Hindoo & Turk are but the children of superstition, while the adherents of Cromwell, Luther, Calvin, & the Popes of Rome, bowed with awe before them, & became the blood-stained partizans of their creeds. God have mercy, on the long deluded & oppressed, outraged & degraded race of man. Truth, virtue, intelligence & beneficence are the natural principles of the human family, but villians have substituted, falsehood, revenge, persecution & cruelty for those heavenly qualities of the heart & mind.

Mr. Gillet informed me last evening, that he was crossing Lake Ontario, to Otronto [Toronto] in the summer of 1837, in company with a gentleman, who resides in Otronto, who stated, that the river Niagara had been seen from the streets of that city within a few months, elevated high in the air, so that the lake shore & the heights of Queenstown were as distinct as if in a vessel directly off the mouth of the river. This phenomenon is a remarkable instance of the looming often seen on the ocean, & so well understood & explained, on the laws which govern the passage of rays of light through less & more dense mediums.

Mr. Jones of Moscow on the western side of Genesee river related the following facts. On the day of the battle of Chippawa, he with three other persons, were in a pasture on the hill, which overlooks Geneseo from the west, when they heard the reports of cannon & the rattle of small arms, in the direction of Niagara Falls for more than an hour & concluded there was a battle near that point on the frontier. The next day the news of the victory of Chippawa reached them. The distance in a straght line must be 54 miles. I heard the roar of the falls last evening, which are 24 miles from this place, & the roar of the sea on the shore of Lake Erie, distant 4 miles. It was clear & cool, with a little breeze.

The bed of Buffalo Creek is slate stone where the bridge crosses it, & I found it strongly impregnated with bitumen, as is most of the slate & lime stone in this region.

The two parties of the Indians, for emigration & remaining on their reservation, chose, in council, this forenoon committees of six chiefs, on each side, who retired into the woods

to discuss the subject & make report of the result of their deliberations. The Indian conference did not report to their several parties until late in the afternoon, & the council adjourned to 10 o'clock to morrow.

August 31. The night was cool, rendering a fire comfortable, but this morning the sky is clear & the weather mild.

I attended an Indian dance at the Onondaga Council House last evening, which is on the right bank of the Creek & two miles above. At half past nine a chief haranged the assembly, announced the presence of the U. S. Commissioner & the Superintendent of Massachusetts,—directed what dances were to be performed & the order of their succession. I was informed that the warriors were preparing in a neighboring hut & at ten, the drum & Indian war-whoop gave notice of their approach, & in a few moments they rushed into the Council House with a terrific yell. They were entirely naked save a small strip of red or plad cloth round the loins. Their faces were painted various colours, & their heads ornamented with feathers & trinkets. Each had a war club tomahawk or some other weapon in the hand. The[y] danced several different measures & after each, the presiding chief complimented them in a short speech. A squaw dance followed, which was began by two, dancing round a long bench, others joined, until some 30 were up all having their blankets on, when they began, but threw them off after dancing a little while. Their under dress was a petticoat & calico gown made like a hunting frock. When the squaw dance ended, there was one commenced by two men, and continued until at least 40 were up, and then followed another dance, in which the males & females united. They sang during the whole of the dancing. We left at 12 o'clock.

There is neither wine or spirit allowed in the council house at these dances, but there was a large caldron boiling in one of the fire places, in which was meat, vegetables & flower, which formed a kind of soup. When the dance began with the men generally, a squaw put a basket of blackberries on a bench round which they danced & each from time to time taking out a handful, & eating them as they

[it] runs toward the two staffs, for the purpose of throwing it beyond them. The other party pursues & if he finds that [he] will overtake him & either knock the ball from the bat or intercept his course he suddenly turns round & with a violent motion throws the ball over his head to the rear. The game is up when either party has put the ball five times past the opponents staffs. The Indians were naked except a red sash round the loins, & ornaments on their head & arms. It is the most elegant game of ball which can be performed and admirably calculated to exhibit the rapid, various and athletic movements of the young men. When the game is played the whole tribe attends, for it is as honored an exhibition as was those of Olympia among the Greeks.

Sunday Sept. 2. I went to the Mission meeting house this forenoon. The services were opened by Seneca White, a Seneca Chief, who made a prayer in the language of his tribe, a Hymn was then sung by four young indian men & four white women. Mr. Wright the Missionary delivered a sermon, on temperance & virtue; when he concluded an other Hymn was sung & Joseph Isaacs a Cayuga Chief closed the services with a prayer.

I went to the house of the minister & he gave me the Gospel of Luke translated into the Seneca language by T. S. Harris, & a school book of stories.* Mr. Wright informed me that there was nearly half of this band who had been considered christians, but he did not think that there were so many now, & that the pagan party was increasing. When the religious services commenced there were only 13 indians in the church, but as they came in during the whole service, there were 62 when it ended.

This mission has been established twelve years & Mr. Wright has been here six, & after all the commendable efforts to improve the spiritual & temporal condition of the Indians, the result has been unsatisfactory. The Indians instead of becoming christians, more moral, industrious sober & correct in their habits have deteriorated in all those

* The record of the Rev. Asher Wright's work among the Senecas and that of the Rev. Thompson S. Harris, will be found fully set forth in Vol. VI. of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications.

particulars & their condition is deplorable. There is no probability of their continuance as a people, unless they remove west & adopt the industrious habits of the whites, as farmers & mechanics. All the attempts which have been made to civilize the indians have failed, because they were begun, with the policy of first christenizing them. The Indians must be induced to till the land, own it in fee & severalty, become mechanics & learn to read & write, become acquainted with the simple rules of arithmetic & other branches of intelligence taught in our primary schools, before religion should be the subject of consideration. First teach the arts of civilization & christianity will naturally follow in their march of refinement.

They are here generally idle & too many of them intemperate & dissolute in their manners, both male & female. They are licentious, & adhere with great pertinacity to the vagabond life of the savage. They do not raise sufficient provisions for their support & a few white people have leased their farms & cut their timber for boards, shingles & other purposes & keep little taverns which tend to increase the misery of this degraded & fast perishing nation. They have excellent tracts of land, but it is nearly all in a state of nature, & the Indians are too lazy to either clear it up an [?] cultivate such as has for ages been divested of trees & fit for tillage.

Returning from church with Mr. Gillet we were thrown out of the waggon, but, praise be to God, neither of us were injured materially.

Sep 3. There was a frost last night which produced ice. The potatoes, squash, bean & other vines were killed; most of the corn is ripe, but even that which is not has not been injured so much as to endanger its becoming mature. We have had fires for these three days past.

The Council convened at twelve & was not concluded until three o'clock. I wrote a letter of 8 pages to my wife. I have written some twelve or fourteen since I left home, & many of them were of eight pages. This evening is cloudless, calm & cold. The moon will be full to morrow evening; but she now throws a splendor over the earth. The frost last

night, reminds me of an old saying in New England, that if there is not a frost at the September full of the moon, there will be none until the October full. Why should there be frosts at the full, rather than at any other age of the moon? Philosophy does not explain it, & is there truth in the general belief, that, frosts, in the autumn, do not happen before the Sep^r or October full of the moon.

Sep 4. There was no frost last night, & the day has been cloudless, warm & pleasant.

The council opened at twelve & adjourned at half past three. Mr. Gillet closed his explanations, & I made a speech, confirming the facts stated by Mr. Gillet, in relation to the provisions of the treaty,—the instructions of the government,—the character of the land in the tract appropriated for the Indians as represented by the persons who had explored it,—the manner in which the Indians had been treated in New England & the other old Atlantic states, & the disastrous results;—for notwithstanding the efforts to ameliorate & improve their condition, nearly the whole of them were extinct, as nations, & the few broken fragments, of once powerful tribes in Mas. & Maine, are in a miserable state & are annually diminishing in number & sinking in morals & all that is commendable in character & conduct. I also stated what was the limited & peculiar title of the indians to the land they now occupy. Big Kettle & Johnson made speeches & the former, who is the leading chief opposed to the treaty, but was answered by White Seneca in a very able & eloquent manner.

I took a walk with Mr. Gillet towards sunset & went to the residence of Capt. Pollard one of the oldest & most respectable chiefs. He lives on the left bank of the Creek a mile below the bridge, of the Buffalo road. We returned by a foot path through the woods. The land is excellent & the scenery beautiful, on the margins of the rivers & stream which waters this reservation. The interval, or bottom land is almost exclusively the only portion cultivated by the Indians.

Sep. 5. The moon rose full & in magnificence last evening, & the sun has wheeled up this morning over the forest,

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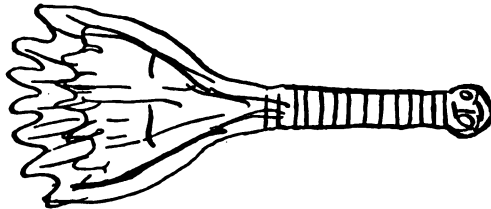
into a clear & calm atmosphere, indicating a superb day. This is truly, lovely autumnal weather. The Council was opened at 12 o'clock & speeches were made in opposition to the treaty, by Little Johnson, Seneca White & Stephenson of the Buffalo reservation, & Jimmy Johnson of Tonnawanda, Innis Halftown, of Alleghany, & Israel Jemison of Cataraugus; & George Bennet of Cataraugus spoke in favor of the Treaty. At the request of Big Kettle, the Council was adjourned to Friday, to give the Indians an opportunity of celebrating their Corn Feast, or thanksgiving to the Great Spirit, for his bounteous dispensations. Mr. Gillet & myself were invited to attend & we accepted, with grateful acknowledgments for the honor thus done us. I have copied the treaty, written letters & in this journal 48 pages since yesterday morning,—having got up at 5 each of the two mornings & performed all the labor before dinner of the two days.

Evening. I took a path, which led into the woods, half an hour before sundown, & walked for an hour. I found an abundance of blackberries; but the grandure of the forest, the large & lofty oaks, maples, beeches, Tulip trees, Hemlocks & hickories, and the numerous beautiful shrubs, & plants, of this fertile soil were the inducements for wandering, through the primitive wilderness. The silence,—the umbragious solemnity,—the aroma so peculiar to the wild-wood scenery,—the associations which were brought to the mind,—these regions having been, for centuries & still are, the residence of the natives of this glorious country; all, & each roused & excited the imagination, & created a deep & all absorbing interest for the physical & moral objects which were united within the scope of immediate observation & afforded so much of reality, & so many thoughts for reflection, wonder and, admiration. that I luxuriated in the scenery. Here were the hunting grounds & battle fields of the warlike tribes of the Six Nations. To these distant & dark forests how many captives of the scattered population of the early colonists were compelled to submit to the horrors, privations, & cruelties of the savages. How many children's tears have been poured out upon this soil, & how much of parental blood, while, for years, they sighed with

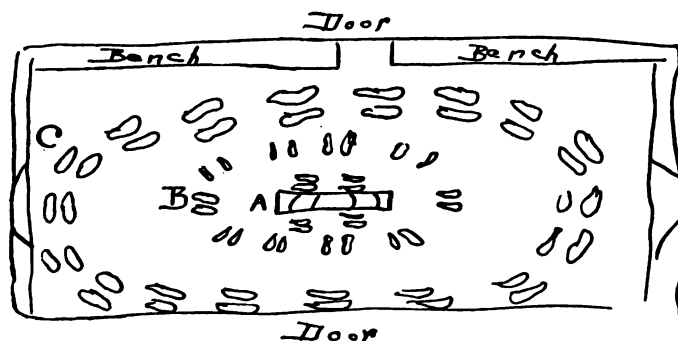
hopeless longings to be returned to their own dearly loved home, on the borders of the ocean, or in some secluded village, which contained their numerous fond & dear relatives & friends, but whose bright faces they never again were to behold. The white mans will soon possess the whole land, & the Indian no longer be known save in the far climes of the west.

Sep. 6. An other bright, bland, & beautiful morning. Such clear & mild & sunny autumnal days have a peculiar loveliness. They call up the recollections of my boyhood, when at the like season, & during such delightful weather, I was either floating on the placid waters of the Kennebeck, with my angling rod traversing the woods with my gun, or actively & ardently engaged in other of those infinite occupations, which, in the juvenile period of life, occupy our whole time. & attention. our numerous plans for each succeeding day fill up, in their execution, every moment, from early morn, until tired, we retire to rest, with the setting sun,—or by the bright stars, or more resplendent light of the admired moon the amusements, and constantly varying shouts, in the forest & on the water are prolonged far, into the night. How delightful are the reminiscencies of boy-hood.

Evening. I went to the little falls of Buffalo Creek in the morning, distant five miles to witness the Corn Feast of the Pagan portion of the tribe. There were about three hundred Indians assembled, of whom over an hundred were females from 14 years of age to the oldest matrons. Big Kettle appeared to fill the office of High Priest & the ceremonies commenced at eleven oclock by a dance in the forenoon in the Council house. There was a bench in the centre, on which two men sat facing each other having a turtle shell, to which a handle was formed by the neck & head being skinned & stuffed & secured by wooden splints to the shell. Dry Corn was put in the shell, which thus constituted a large kind of rattle, of this appearance:



The men sang & beat time on the bench with the rattles, striking them, on the edge. Big Kettle & an other principal Chief commenced the dance & were joined in succession by other men, until 30 were in the ring, while an interior circle of 20 women, was at the same time formed,—two of the oldest beginning. The men followed each other, as in a march, but the women moved sideways, without taking their feet from the floor, by sliding the heels and toes alternately, & beating time with their hands keeping their elbows at their sides, but without uttering a sound, & they looked down on the bench & musicians in a grave & modest manner, while the men sang threw themselves into the most violent attitudes, turned round frequently, & ever & anon uttered the most clamorous yells.



A, bench ; B, circle of women dancers ; C, men dancers.

The dance was kept up for more than an hour, & when it was concluded Big Kettle made a long speech, which was a kind of religious & moral lecture. He gave an account of their religious customs & beliefs & the importance of their being kept up, & urged upon the audience the necessity of virtue, of sobriety, truth & honesty, attention to wives & all the moral obligations & duties to insure the favor of the Great Spirit & the inheritance of a state of perpetual happiness in an other world, after death.

When sufficient time had been allowed for rest, another dance was commenced, but a horn with pebles in it & a

drum were substituted for the turtle shell rattles, as instruments of music. The rattle is formed of the frustrum of an oxhorn about 8 inches long, with wooden heads of a semi-spherical shape in each end & a handle in the smaller end, seven or eight inches long. The drum, is a cask of the ten-gallon size, with a sheep skin made into a parchment stretched over one end & is beaten with a little stick a foot long with the end cut into a ball, an inch in diameter. The musicians sing during the whole dance, & the tune is often changed, as well as the time from slow to fast,—& the reverse. In this second dance the women followed each other like the men, but their motions were quietly executed & they looked down, with a serious face, while the men as before sang shouted & threw themselves into every possible attitude & gesticulated violently. When the dance was concluded, Big Kettle again haranged them for half an hour, in relation to the religious rites & duties & then sang a song, while walking round the bench alone & the others joined in the chorus, besides keeping time by a loud utterance of hip, hip hip. After Big Kettle concluded, all the other principal men, in succession made a short speech & sang a song walking once or twice round the bench. These songs are such as they expect to sing in heaven when they meet their friends there. They think all but murderers & a few very bad people will ultimately reach heaven, & live happily, having nothing to do but hunt, eat, sing & enjoy themselves, very much in the manner of the believers of Mahomet.

Another short dance & a speech from Big Kettle & a Tonawanda chief concluded these ceremonies, when there was another dance, in which the women & men united as in the first dance. When this was over, corn cooked in various ways, & made into succatash with beans, squashes & other vegetables, and three large brass kettles containing soup made of three deer were placed in the middle of the Council House, & distributed by five squaws, to other squaws into baskets & tin kettles, which were carried out, by the squaws of the different families to their husbands & children, who were scattered in groups on the grass; but many of the squaws whose families were not present carried the soup &

other provisions home, as I passed many thus laden five miles from the little falls. I rode home on horseback through the wood, in company, with some twenty Indian men & women, who were about equally divided into equestrians & pedestrians. There was only a foot path & that very crooked crossed by wind falls, filled with roots & interrupted by streams & mudholes; still the ride was very interesting, through five miles of the primitive forest, in company with the aborigines of the country.

Sep. 7. The Council met at 12 & was in session until after four. There was a very animated debate between the chiefs of emigration & opposition parties. Strong, Bennet & White Seneca advocated emigration & an assent to the amended treaty; Jemison of Cataraugus & Hudson replied, & then there were rejoinders by Bennet & White Seneca, when Big Kettle made a speech against the treaty. After some remarks from Mr. Gillet the council adjourned. I rode out a few miles on horseback just before sunset for exercise.

The following traditions were related to me by Cone, a very intelligent young Indian of the Tonnawanda band.

TRADITION OF THE INDIAN SETTLEMENT ON BUFFALO CREEK.

There was a powerful tribe whose village was near the Niagara Falls, on the Canada side. For several years the corn crops failed from drought, an frosts, & an epidemic prevailed, which swept off many of the Indians. One day a girl went into the little cave above the falls to bathe, when a rattlesnake attacked her & in her effort to escape, she was carried down the rapids, & precipitated into the abyss below the cataract. to her astonishment she was uninjured & found herself in a cavern, under the falls, in the presence of the God of Thunder & Lightning, who there created the mist, which ascending into the heavens, formed clouds, from whence the lightnings are launched. He told the girl that the God of Starvation, or Famine, had his residence also, under the falls, & had caused the failure of the crops of corn, as he was a very bad & wicked god; and there was also an immense water serpent under his command which lived in the

niagara river & lake Erie;—this serpent came down often into the little bay, at the mouth of the stream, which falls into the river just above the falls, to cleanse himself of the filth which accumulated on his skin, & that the water was thus poisoned in that little bay; which being the place where the indians supplied themselves with water for drinking & cooking they were made sick & died. Now said the Thunder & Lightning God, go home to your tribe & tell them to pack up all their property & procede in their bark canoes from the mouth of Chippewa river up the Niagara to Buffalo creek, & form a settlement, where the stream is separated into two branches, & they will raise good crops & enjoy perfect health. The God of Starvation will send the large Water Serpent after you, for the purpose of defiling the water of the creek; but I will follow him in a dark cloud, & when he has advanced a few miles up the creek, I will hurl a thunderbolt at him, & slay him. The Indians made the removal, as recommended, & saw the huge serpent following their canoes; but when they got to the place where they were to land, they heard a thunder clap & saw a flash of lightning strike the monster when he floundered turned round & lashed the water with his tail with great violence, & fled down the Creek, which was rendered bloody from the wound made in the serpent, & he was so large that in turning round he scooped out a deep & broad basin, in the creek, which exists at this day. After the indians had landed & got their temporary camps made, the girl informed them, that they must send a deputation down to their old town, near the falls, & they would then ascertain the truth of the promises of the thunder God, for he had instructed her to communicate that intelligence. A deputation departed forthwith in their canoes, & when they reached the little bay they found the immense water serpent dead & in a state of putrefaction,—& on going into the village, they saw a pole 40 feet high, erected in front of the Council House, from which was suspended the thigh & legs of the God of Starvation, which were so emaciated & lean, that they appeared only skin & bones. It was so large that although secured by the upper end of the thigh to the top of the pole, the foot touched the ground. Having



thus ascertained that the God of Starvation & his great water snake were both dead, they returned & reported the remarkable facts to the nation; & ever after the indians enjoyed good health & had fine crops of corn.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SEVEN STARS.

Many years ago, the Indians had so much neglected all their religious rites & ceremonies, that even dancing was discontinued, when seven of the most elegant & active young men formed themselves into a corps for the purpose of re-establishing the old dances. One of them was the singer & the others dancers. They went from house to house, all through the nation, & invited the men & women to join them in dancing, an amusement & form of worship which was so acceptable to the great spirit; but not an individual could be induced to participate in the recreation. At last the people saw them gradually ascending to the skies, from the green in front of the Council House, singing & dancing as they went up; & when it was discovered their young friends were leaving this world, they called upon [them] to return in the most urgent & affecting manner, and were so afflicted at the idea of their loss that they wept & implored them in the most urgent & endearing terms to come back & they would all join them in the dance; but the seven young men paid no attention to the supplications of their relatives & countrymen, & still kept dancing, singing & ascending until they dwindled into the appearance of bright stars, where they have ever since continued to dance & sing, as may be seen by the constant twinkling motion of six of the number which are the dancers & the fixed light of the seventh who is the singer. Since that calamitous event, which was considered a judgment of the Great Spirit for the wickedness of the tribe in omitting to honor him by dances, they have ever since been religiously kept up.

As was stated, in the account of the dance I witnessed in the Onondaga Council House, these recreations are formal religious rites, over which some of the principal chiefs always preside.

tumn & the gorgeous display of colours, which the trees present, has begun.

Cone, the young Tonnawanda Indian has related several other traditions derived from his Grand father, who was called *Black Face*,—which I have listened to with interest. They are as follows :

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.

The earth was originally very small & there were neither sun moon or stars. The only light by which it was illumed was produced by the white blossoms of a beautiful tree which periodically rouse up out of a deep pit or well, & then sunk down again, like the rising & sitting of the sun. In the water at the bottom of this profound abyss were all kinds of amphibeous annimals. There was a woman, who was near the period of her confinement, the man who lived with her in a moment of anger threw her into the pit, & as she descended, all the animals below became alarmed from her peculiarly delicate & perilous situation, & called upon her to remain suspended in her discent which they had the magical power to effect until they could prepare a dry spot of earth for her reception & convenient residence, until she was delivered of the children, which they had ascertained were to be produced. The animals then consulted how mud was to be obtained from below the water in which they lived, for forming a dry spot of ground,—when a duck offered to dive down and bring it up ; but after being under the water for a long time it rose to the surface dead, then several other animals made the experiment with equally as unfortunate results. At last a musk-rat dove down, & to the dismay of all the assembled animals he rose to the surface lifeless ; but on examining his paws a very little mud was discovered adhering to his fore feet. This was to be carefully deposited on the back of some animal, where it could dry & increase in quantity. The Sea Serpent, immediately offered his services, but the other animals observed that he being carniverous, furious & cruel, the woman & her children would be in danger of their lives, if exposed upon his back. The Turtle then came forward & observed, that he was of a peaceable &

quiet disposition & should be very happy to render assistance & protection to the beautiful woman. His offer was accepted with applause, & the little particles of mud were carefully collected from the feet of the musk rat & laid on his broad & flat back. It immediately began to increase in bulk & so rapidly, that this immense earth was soon produced, & became covered with grass, flowers & trees, & watered by numerous rivers & streams, when the woman was invited to descend & occupy the most beautiful arbor in a grove, situated by the side of a cool & refreshing fountain or little lake.

In a few days the woman was delivered of two sons, one in a natural manner & the other forced himself into the world through her ribs. As they grew up one was good & amiable in his disposition & the other wicked & vicious in his habits; The former used to amuse himself in making little figures of all the animals, such as the mammoth buffalo, bear, elk, deer, wild turkeys, partridges, rabbits, & all the other kinds which could be useful to the indians, for food & clothing. These he breathed upon & they instantly assumed the size in which they have ever appeared & run off into the woods.

One day the bad son asked the other to go a hunting with him, & it was agreed that each would go out for a whole day & the one who brought home the most game should have command of the universe. The wicked son went first & when he came back at night, he did not bring a single animal, for the good son had driven them all into the dark abyss, where they were secure from attack. The next day he went out & killed an abundance of game, of all the various kinds, which he had created, and he became the Great & Good Spirit, or God, & the other the evil spirit or the devil, who in revenge created snakes, toads, frogs & all the reptiles & venomous animals, & is always trying to do injury to the indians, & render them vicious, immoral and hateful,—while the other is their protector & friend, so long as they pay honor to him by adhering to his just precepts & laws & evince their respect & gratitude, by feasts & dances & are honest & correct in all their conduct, & will after their

death, go & live with the great Spirit, above the skies, where there will be a perpetual summer, with abundant game, fruits & food of all kinds; and they will have nothing to do but hunt, sing & dance & amuse themselves, in every way that is most agreeable for ever.*

Black Face, Mr. Cone's Grandfather died last summer at the age of 120. He was in good health, had all his mental faculties entire, was able to walk several miles; but riding in a waggon with a little boy he was upset & fractured his skull which occasioned his death, in a few days. He was a warrior, but not a chief. He was married to a second wife who was but 30 years of age when he was over a 100 & at the time of his death his youngest child was but 7 years of age. He worked up to the day of [receiving the] wound making white oak pipe stones & could fell the trees & split out 90 a day. Mr. Cone said there was no doubt of his being the father of four children which he had by his last wife. A remarkable instance of vigorous old age.

He stated that when a boy the main body of the Senecas lived on the bank of the Genesee river where is now the town of Avon. He related to his grandson that when 16 years old, all the north western Indians of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin & upper Canada, combined in a plan for their extermination & came into their country with an immense army, & so confident were they of victory, that many of the warriors & chiefs brought their wives & children with them, to participate in the plunder & enjoy the fruits of their great and decisive anticipated victory.

The Senecas got intelligence of the advance of the vast western army of invasion when it reached the Cattaraugus Creek & made the requisite arrangements for defence. Their whole military force was assembled on the stream, which runs into Genesee river between Avon & Geneseo. When the enemy arrived at the Genesee river, the water was so

* This legend resembles in many details the account of "The Foundation of the Great Island," etc., in David Cusick's "Ancient History of the Six Nations," first published in 1825. In both forms—as given by Cusick and by Cone—it suggests the so-called Mosaic account of creation; the twin sons, one good and one evil, parallel the strife of Cain and Abel. The initial warfare between the powers of light and darkness, between good and evil, is the basis of fundamental traditions of many peoples.

high that they could not ford it & were compelled to construct a temporary bridge, which from the great number of men was soon completed, & the whole of the army crossed near Mount Morris, & advanced down the right bank to within a few hundred yards of the stream on which the Senecas were encamped. The former were armed entirely with bows & arrows & war clubs, while nearly the whole number of Senecas had muskets, which they had procured from the French & English colonies. On the approach of the hostile army the Senecas descended into the stream & were secreted under the opposite bank, which was at least ten feet high. The army of invasion formed their line of battle parallel to & within 40 yards of the bank. one of the Senecas disguised like a bear, crawled up the bank, & advanced toward the line of the Western Indians, in the cautious manner of the animal whose skin he had assumed, & when within 20 yards gave the war-whoop, at which signal the Senecas rose above the bank & threw in a tremendous fire; the slaughter was immense, but the Western Indians, fought desperately, for, after finding that they could not cope with the Senecas by the use of their bows & arrows, they dropped them & rushed to the conflict with the war club. The battle was long & obstinately contested, when the Western Indians gave way & fled toward Mount Morris; but to their dismay the bridge had been destroyed by a party of the Senecas, who were sent for that purpose, as soon as the action commenced. There the slaughter was renewed & the whole of the hostile army was killed, except a very few who escaped by swimming.

The Squaws & children fled up the river during the retreat of their friends & being unable to find subsistence they sent a deputation into the Camp of the Senecas claiming their hospitality & protection, & offering to continue as a part of that tribe, if they were kindly received. These terms were accepted & the women & children never returned to their native country, but were mingled with the Senecas, which occasioned the marked variety of races which are perceptible in the tribe even at this time. There had been a similar invasion from the west a half a century before, but

so signally disastrous had been this campaign, that no other was ever attempted & the Senecas have since been held in great terror by the North Western tribes. They, in fact had never been conquered until in the campaign of General Sullivan, when they were defeated in the great battle fought at Freetown [Newtown, near Elmira], & all their towns & corn fields were destroyed, & they were driven to the Niagara frontier, where they were chiefly dependent upon the British garrison for food, during the winter.

September 10. The same delightful weather still continues. I went, with Mr. Gillet to Jack Berry's town,—yesterday being sunday—which is north east from this settlement & distant four miles, to witness a game of ball between seven of the best players among the pagans, in that part of the reservation & the same number of the young christians from this village. The field was extensive, including at least thirty acres. The young men were all stripped naked except a short white or calico hunting shirt, which was confined round the loins by a red sash ornamented with beads, & they had similar ones round their heads, to which were added feathers, and they wore short red sashes on their arms, above the elbow. It was a beautiful exhibition of activity, fleetness, skill & adroitness of motion. The game was six & after an hour & a half of great exertion on both sides the Christian party won, the other side only counting two. Two of the christian party got wounded in the first & second games & their places were supplied by others who came on to the ground for that purpose. Before the game commenced, an old chief addressed the fourteen young men when assembled in the centre of the field for commencing the game. He stated the laws of the game & reminded them that it was expected, they would not intentionally injure each other, or got in a passion, if a blow was accidentally given, & by no means to fight; for it was disgraceful to quarrel when they met for amusement, & they must bear in mind that not only all their friends & the chiefs of the nation were present & several distinguished white men, who would closely watch their conduct. The squaws did not come into the field, but were scattered in little groups along the edge

of the woods & behind the fences. They however, took great interest in the spot, for many of them had walked from four to six miles to witness it & the game did not end until dark. The men were very much excited those belonging to the two parties of Pagan & Christians, were constantly calling on the young men by name to stop, strike, or propel the ball to the opposite goal, & when it was driven between the two staffs, a loud & hilarious shout rent the air from friends of the victorious side.

I have now seen a large portion of this reservation & there is not a more excellent tract of land in this section of the state. It is quite level, there being large tracts of bottom land, & the remainder is gently undulating. If it was occupied by good white farmers it would become a beautiful region of country; & the various sinuous branches of the Buffalo Creek afforded many sites for mills, while the forest trees, of gigantic growth, which are scattered on their bank give a picturesque & most pleasing aspect to the scenery. This reservation will be the garden of the City of Buffalo. It will furnish the vegetables, fruit, hay, beef, pork, butter, milk, mutton, poultry, & other articles of food, besides furnishing sites for various manufactories. In 25 years the whole tract will be worth at least 100 dollars per acre. & there will be two or three large villages upon it, if the Indians conclude to remove west; & if they do not, their wretchedness & degredation will be lamentable & pitiable.

The Council was in session from 12 until after sunset. Mr. Gillet addressed the Chiefs for three hours in the ratification of mistakes made by some of the chiefs in debate & in illustration of former treaties, the kind of title which the Indians had to their lands & the nature of the stipulations in the amended treaty, for their benefit &c. &c. During his speech, there were many white men, who were actively engaged in about the council house, in conversation with the Indians, & several of the most active of the latter, who are opposed to emigration, often went out & were seen in conversation with individuals, who have been in daily attendance, and have made strenuous efforts to induce the Indians not to assent to the treaty. They are men, who either trade

with the indians, to whom the latter are indebted, have mills on the reservation, purchase bark, boards, timber, shingles & wood, and have a canal of some miles out through the reservation to supply mills & factories with water from Buffalo Creek, or persons who are attempting to influence the indians, not to remove with the hope of being hired to be silent or take the opposite side of the question.

When Mr. Gillet set down Big Kettle & Pierce stated that he talked too much & that they & their party had made up their minds not to go & did not wish to hear anything more on the subject & that unless the council was immediately brought to a close they should go home. A man by the name of Grovner,* brother-in-law to [blank in original] who cut the cannals & his mills & a factory upon it, got up & gave notice that he should address the Indians the next afternoon after the council [He] rose & contradict[ed] what he called the false statements & misrepresentations, which had been made by Mr. Gillet. The excitement among the spectators & the Indians was very great, at this time, when Mr. Gillet rose & informed the Indians, that no man, save the U. S. Commissioner & Agent, the Superintendent of Massachusetts & the Chiefs of the Council, had a right to speak in that house, or should he permit it, & went into a full defence of his conduct, as an officer of the government & of his private character, against the false insinuations of Grovner.

I then rose & made a speech. I informed the Indians of the position I held, stated what were rights of Massachusetts under the articles of the agreement with the State of New York. That the council was like a diplomatic Congress, three distinct states or nations being there present to negotiate treaties, in conformity to the Constitution & laws of the U. S. & the states of New York & Mass & that no person other than the parties named had any right to speak in the Council House to the Indians, while the Council was in session or at any other time. That the questions to be con-

* The allusion is apparently to one of the Grosvenors, and his brother-in-law Reuben B. Heacock. The latter was foremost in organizing the Hydraulic Company, that utilized the waters of Buffalo Creek for milling purposes. Reuben B. Heacock died Apr. 7, 1854, aged 65.

sidered, were, not such in any manner or form, as authorized any person, not officially present to take a part in the deliberations, & that who ever attempted so to do so was committing a gross violation of the laws of nations. & the Constitution & laws of the Union, & those of the states of Mas. & New York as well as presumptuously interfering with the rights & business of others, which to say the least was a gross violation of the principles of justice, as well as of that comity & decency of deportment which the customs of society have established for the regulation of the conduct of gentlemen.

I informed the audience that by the 9th. article of the agreement with New York Massachusetts had the right & would if necessary exercise the power of surrounding the Council House with armed forces, to protect the persons there engaged in deliberations in relation to the Indians & the land on which they reside. I stated that I had accepted the appointment under which I appeared, with the intention of faithfully discharging my duties to the state & Indians. That the very object of my being present was to see that the indians were not imposed upon, by any false or erroneous statements, & that full & ample justice was done them; & if the U. S. Commissioners made any assertion which was not in accordance with treaty stipulations, or the nature of the promises, and engagements of the government, or the character of the land, climate &c. of the west offered as a new residence for the Indians, I should endeavor to have all the subjects clearly presented & understood, so far as it was in my power to accomplish that object. That during my whole life I had felt a deep interest, for the Indians & was most solicitous that their condition should be ameliorated, and that their future destinies might be prosperous & happy; that I had taken pains to investigate their title to the lands in this state, the nature of the provisions of the treaty then under consideration & the character of the country, which was offered in the Indian Territory, was as capable of appreciating the terms & conditions of the treaty, as any of the persons who volunteered their services to enlighten the chiefs, whether actuated by disinterested motives, or other

considerations. I observed that I was determined to maintain the rights of Massachusetts & firmly & faithfully & fearlessly discharge my duty, let the consequences be what they may to me personally; that neither the glare of the tomahawk, or the crack of the rifle would deter me from acting in the manner which the occasion required.

This is but a brief sketch of the remarks I made, & the Indians & spectators retired quietly. I learned afterwards, that, save three or four interested men, all the persons present approved of the conduct of Mr. Gillet & myself as did nearly the whole of the Chiefs, & that no other effort will be made to disturb the Council.

September 11. There was a third attempt last night by two men, to set fire to the council house. One of the two men who guard it saw a person near the south eastern corner, & fired upon him, a charge of bird shot, he ran & was pursued to a fence, where a second discharge of shot was given, as the watchman had a double barreled gun. As the fugitive was getting over the fence, he was seized by the collar, when he struck the watchman with a club & escaped into a corn field before the other watchman got up to aid in taking the incendiary, the other man ran from under some trees near where the first named stood. It is overcast this morning & a storm of rain appears to be threatened. Sent a letter to my wife yesterday of eight pages.

THE SENECA MOUNTAIN TOWN.

Mr. Cone, the Tonawanda Indian informs me, that there was a tradition among the Senecas, that their nation was at one period established in a large village on a high hill, with a spacious broad flat top, near the southern end of Seneca Lake; & to more effectually defend their commanding position, the sides of the hill were cleared of all the trees & shrubs, so that an enemy could not advance without being exposed to view & attack; and to render the defence still more complete, large logs were collected on the summit to be rolled down upon any force that might attempt to ascend the height.

After many years of a prosperous & peaceful occupation

of this hill, an enormous serpent came out of the lake & so vast was his size & length that he was enabled to entirely surround its base, so as to preclude a passage, to the foot for the purpose of hunting & to the lake for taking fish. The mouth of the serpent was open fronting the top of the hill & so large was it that the indians considered it a passage or kind of gateway through which they could pass & thus effect their escape & many ran into it & thus perished. The distress at length became so great for the want of provisions, that it was found the whole tribe would die of hunger. When one night a young man dreamed, that if he made a bow of hickory and an arrow of willow, which was to be tipped with hair from the private parts of his sister, instead of feathers, he could slay the monster & having procured the prescribed materials, he shot the arrow into his body which however only barely went through the skin; but as he moved from the pain the wound occasioned it worked gradually in until it pierced his heart, when he soon died in violent convulsions, & the blood which issued from his mouth was so great that it formed a large pond in which the snake putrified and there is now a morass covered with trees, in which it is believed his bones may be discovered.

For the mountain residence of the Senecas, & from whence they date the origin of their nation, their original name was Jo-no-do-wan or Great Mountain, but it ultimately was changed to Non-do-wan-gan which is the present Indian name of the Tribe.

The whole of the six nations until some years after the white people came to Canada & New York, were but one tribe, and were called the Jo-no-do-wans. Their chief settlements were in the valley of the Genesee river & the principal town in Avon. Annually after the squaws had planted the corn, the greatest portion of the tribe, went out to the various large lakes to fish & hunt, until the corn was ripe. During this period the small pox was introduced into the town & so fatal were its ravages, that nearly the whole of those, who remained at home perished, and when a few of the Indians who had been absent returned in September, they found only two or three men & women, & as many chil-

dren alive, while the dead were festering unburied in the houses & streets & fields. The spectacle was so appalling that they immediately went back & gave notice to the several bands of the calamitous event, & such was the terror produced from the ravages of this new & destructive disease that each of [the] bands determined to establish towns where they had encamped during the fishing & hunting season. These were on Seneca, Cayuga, & Oneida lakes, Mohawk river & Onondaga valley, and they at last became distinct & independent nations. but united as the six nations for their common safety & defence. When the white people began to trade with them, they called each tribe the name of the lakes rivers & valleys where they chiefly resided; but the tribes have each a name entirely different from those, by which they are known to each other.*

The council met at twelve & adjourned at two, in consequence of the sudden & severe illness of Mr. Strong the Interpreter's father, who is a Chief from Cattaragus. Mr. Gillet made a speech for the purpose of correcting various errors which some of the chiefs had committed as to facts & principles. Mr. Gillet here stated to the Chiefs, that he had the written opinion of Mr. Harris & Mr. Mand of the Indian Bureau in the War Department as to the effect which the non assent to the amendments of the treaty would have; & that if they refused to ratify it, the contracts for the sale of their reservations would be binding upon them, & that they would thus be deprived of their lands here without having secured others in the west.

I then rose & observed that it was the opinion of the Governor of Massachusetts, that as the contract for the sale of the reservations to Ogden & fellows was made simultaneously, they were under the peculiar circumstances, in which the negotiations were conducted, to be considered as dependent on each other & as one transaction; that the Indians would not have consented to the sale of all their lands

* There are certain resemblances between this tradition, as related by Cone, and "The Origin of the Kingdom of the Five Nations," in David Cusick's "Ancient History of the Six Nations," first published in 1825; but here, as elsewhere in his journals, Gen. Dearborn's spelling of Indian words is independent of all authorities.

in the state of New York, if they had not at the same time obtained others in the west, & if from any cause the treaty was not completely ratified, either by an assent of the Chiefs to the amendmends of the Senate, or a recession of the Senate from the amendments & the original treaty ratified by that body, in the manner, which, it had been represented, had been done on other occasions, they would be without a home, which was not contemplated, by the Indians, at the time the two arrangements were made. The Governor did not undertake to decide that his construction of the treaty & contracts was correct, for that was a subject for great consideration & must ultimately depend on a judicial decision, of the courts of the United States.

Mr. Gillet then proceeded, & stated that the chiefs now knew the opinions of the officers of the general government & of the Governor of Mas. & they were to decide, as to whether it was safe or not, to act on the belief of the correctness of either view of the subject; but in the event the treaty was not assented to now, or hereafter ratified by the Senate, as originally executed, & it should be decided by the courts, that the contracts for the sale of their lands were valid, notwithstanding, the responsibility of the chiefs, who signed the treaty & contracts, & now should refuse to assent to the amendments would be very great; for they will have negotiated for the sale of the whole of their lands here, & refused or neglected to provide a home in the Indian Territory, for their future & permanent residence, & thus leave the whole nation without any place of residence, or the means of support.

Evening. There was a meeting of the chiefs who are opposed to the treaty, in the Council House after the adjournment of the council, and the questions under consideration were discussed. There was also a meeting of a number of the opposition chiefs yesterday morning at the house of Billy Jones one of the chiefs who lives on this reservation near the church, and were addressed by [blank in original] who attempted to induce a belief that all the statements which had been made by Mr. Gillet were false or deceptive & erronious, as is reported by persons who were present.

Such conduct is infamous, for the motive is, to retain the advantages which the individuals, who are urging the Indians not to ratify the treaty, now enjoy, from the mills they have built or occupy on the reservations, & the lumber & bark which they obtain therefrom. The objects for which they are seeking, are selfish, & they are willing to deceive & thus prevent the Indians from embracing the liberal & munificent offers of the government. Such baseness is unparalleled in my intercourse with man-kind. Assuming to be the special friends of the Indians, these poor, ignorant & prejudiced people are deluded and made to distrust the U. S. Commissioners & myself,—the national government even, who have no other aim or desire than to do the greatest possible benefit to the miserable remnant of a tribe which is fast sinking into the most degraded condition & must soon become extinct, if they do not remove to the west.

I took a walk with Mr. Gillet half an hour before sunset up the bank of the creek to see Mr. Strong the sick chief & then crossed the creek & went to Gruses house on the hill, southwest from the onondaga Council House; he being a chief & also sick. We walked about three miles.

I have read, since I have been here *Oliver Twist* & *Nicholas Nickleby* by Boz. alias Charles Dickens author of the *Pick-Wick Papers* &c. the 5th vol. of the 3d series of the *Massachusetts historical Society & Homeward Bound* by Cooper author of the *Spy*, *Pilot*, *Red Rover* &c. and "*La Levitiene de Montfermeil*", by Ch. Paul De Kock.

A TRADITION OF THE CHIEF DOCTOR OF THE SENECA, AS TO
THE MEDICINE HE USES FOR WOUNDS, BRUISES & ALL
VULNERARY PURPOSES, RELATED TO ME BY CONE.

It was the custom long before the Revolutionary War, for parties of from twenty, fifty & a hundred Indians to make excursions into Ohio for the purpose of signalizing their valor, by killing small parties of their enemies, & plundering the exposed settlements. In one of these expeditions, the party was unexpectedly overtaken, during its return, by a large body of warriors when a bloody engagement ensued, in which many of the Senecas were slain. One of the scouts


on his return to the nation gave the following account of himself. As he was retreating before the victorious band which had slain & defeated his corps he was knocked down as he supposed by a war-club; but soon after came to his senses, & finding many of his dead companions scattered near him, & neither friend or enemy in sight, he took the route which he presumed they had pursued home, & overtook them the next day; but to his great astonishment, no one replied to his salutations or appeared to notice or even see him; and after in vain attempting to enter into conversation, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of their cold neglect, he concluded to return to his village, which he reached the third [day] but to his utter surprise neither his wife children or friends spoke to him or took the least notice of what he said or did. He was in despair & went from house to house, to see if no one would recognize, know, or speak to him, but he was entirely disregarded & did not seem to be perceived.

In deep affliction for his neglected & painful situation he determined to return to the battle ground where so many of his companions, were slain & be united with them in death, & on arriving at the place of the action there were many dead indians all of whom had been scalped, while wandering among the slain he discovered a corps, which seemed to so much resemble himself, that he began at last to believe it was his own body & that it was only his spirit which had been with his own party family & friends, which was the reason they could not see him. Scarcely had he come to this conclusion, when his spirit again entered his body. Not long after he heard the most delightful songs, but was incapable of moving or opening his eyes; There appeared to be numerous voices & the singing was the most curious & interesting he had ever listened to. The sound, however, did not appear to be like that proceeding from human lips, so infinitely different were they in tone & compass, & yet more sweet and harmonious. At last he was enabled to open his eyes, but could not speak or move. He was astonished to find, that the music he heard, was made by all the kinds of birds & other animals of the forest from the smallest wren

to the eagle, from the little striped squirrel to the deer & bear, which had formed a circle around him, some being on the ground & others sitting on the trees, or flying about in the air.

Suddenly they all ceased singing & there was a consultation, as to the expediency of restoring him to life by the means of a most remarkable & powerful medicine which was described; to this the wolf and catamount objected, for, they observed, he will become a hunter & we shall all be subject to be killed by his hand,—no, replied the turtle dove, he will become a peaceful benefactor of his nation & hereafter devote his time, to medicine & be enabled to render assistance to the wounded & sick, in a manner more successful than was ever known before, for he will hear the names of the ingredients which we intend to use in the liquid for curing his wound & restoring him to life & perfect health, As all the other animals except the wolf & the catamount concurred in the generous opinion of the turtle dove, it was determined, that some of their number should prepare the medicine, while one of the birds, should go in search of his scalp, which had been taken & carried off by one of the indians who had attacked & defeated his war party. The crane immediately volunteered his services, for the latter duty, as he was swift of wing & could scent flesh & blood a greater distance than any other bird, & was accordingly dispatched in pursuit of the victorious band. During his absence the dead indian heard those, who were preparing the medicine, name over the various articles, which were combined in a fine powder & put into one of those curious leaves, which is called Adams cup.

The Crane soon returned with the scalp, which he found suspended on the top of the chimney of the hut in which the chief lived who had taken it, where it had been placed, to be dried & smoked, according to the Indian custom, that it may be preserved as a trophy of valor. The scalp was first soaked soft in a spring of pure water, and then being carefully sprinkled with the liquid medicine it was applied to the head, which had also been bathed for some time with the same wonderful specific. In a short time the Indian was



enabled to sit up, but was so feeble from loss of blood & the want of food that he could not speak, when the wolf was dispatched, for venison, & it was not long before he returned with a quarter of a fawn, that he had slain. The birds & other animals then all disappeared, after having sang a peculiar kind of song which was indispensable to render the operation of the medicine complete, & restore the patient to perfect health.

As soon as the Indian was left alone, he found his strength so much increased, that he was able to get up, & having kindled a fire, broiled small pieces of the venison, which he eat with a greedy appetite, & then laid down & went to sleep. When he awoke he found himself perfectly well & strong & set off on his return home. On his arrival he related the miraculous circumstances of his death & restoration to life. Having determined to attempt the preparation of the medicine by which he had been cured, he set off on a hunt to procure the ingredients. They were small portions of the brains of a certain number of birds & other animals, & one kernal of corn from an ear which was to be found growing alone on a single stalk in the midst of the forest, an a seed from a little rough skin squash, which also was to be procured from a vine that was to be discovered in the wilderness, far from any settlement. The brains of the different annimals were obtained in a few days, but he traversed the wilderness six months in search of the corn & squash.

At last one night after he had eaten his supper, & lied down to sleep, he was roused by the song which he heard at the time he was raised from the dead. It was bright moonlight night & the notes came swelling on the gentle breeze through the vast forest in the most melodious & enchanting manner; but he was directed in one of the verses not to move from his camp until morning. The singing continued until day-light. As soon as the sun rose he set off in the direction from whence the sounds of the song came and found the desired stalk of corn growing within a small circle of level ground in which there was not a weed, or a spear of grass, & it appeared as clear as if it had been smoothed by a

rake, all around the circle for a considerable distance were the tracks or marks made by the birds & other animals which had been there assembled, during the night. Having taken the single ear of corn which grew upon the isolated stalk the Indian returned to his village. One kernel of the corn when finely pulverized was sufficient to impart the sanitary & healing virtues, with which it had been endowed by the Great Spirit to a large quantity of the other ingredients. The Indian who was so fortunate as to obtain this invaluable medicine, soon became the most distinguished Doctor of the tribe, from the great cures he effected of wounds received in battle & in other modes, as well as cases of extraordinary pains & diseases. & ever since it has been continued to be administered by one man in the tribe to whom the right & power of preparing it has been transmitted.*

At present this Indian is John Tuky & resides on the Cataraugus reservation. He has several agents in each of the four reservations who are supplied with the medicine in the form of a very fine powder, a minute portion of which is put into a vessel of water with which the wound, or part of the body in pain is bathed & the remainder is drank by the patient. In ten days from the time of its application, dance is held at the house of the injured or sick person, the agents, who administer the medicine. & the ceremony is closed by a feast which is kept up all night, which is given to them, by the friends of the patient. One application of the medicine only is made & is considered infallible.

The kernels of the ear of corn having been all used up about sixty years since, the Doctor whose special privilege it was to prepare the medicine, went in search of another, and one of the equally efficacious squashes. After a search of many months in the mountainous wilderness of the Alleghanies, he found, a squash vine growing by itself, & the seeds of that have been nearly all used, so that there is great anxiety lest another ear of the sacred corn or one of the squashes should not be found.

* There is nothing resembling this legend in Cusick's "Six Nations." None of the "Legends of the Iroquois" attributed to "The Cornplanter" and published by William W. Canfield in 1902 correspond with it; nor has it been found elsewhere by the editor of this volume.

Alas poor human nature. The credulity of man will never cease. The marvelous always is imposing & quacks flourish in our largest cities.

Mr. Cone three years since had an affection of one of his eyes which was very painful. After being attended by a physician for some time without relief recourse was had, by his parents to the Great Indian Doctor of Cattaraugus. His shirt was sent for the Doctor to sleep upon & he was able the next day to state how long he had suffered, & that the inflammation was caused by a portion of spider's web getting into the eye when he was walking in the woods; the cause of the disease, however Mr. Cone did not know. The sacred medicine was administered & he was relieved soon after from much of the pain he had suffered. In ten days the dance was performed in his room, in time the inflammation subsided, but the eye perished.

The Council met at half past 12 & adjourned at 4. Pierce of Cattaraugus read some extracts from a congressional speech as to the second removal of the Cherokees, Mr. Gillet & myself explained that transaction & I gave an account of Mr. Jefferson's friendly disposition & policy in relation to the Indians;—the advancement made by the Cherokees in civilization;—the invention of an alphabet by Siquai-ga, the establishment of a printing office & the publication of a newspaper & books in the Cherokee language & that alphabet, & the improvements made in agriculture, & the mechanic arts, & the introduction of wheels & looms for spinning & weaving; thus illustrating the practicability of the amelioration of the degraded condition of the Indians. Jimerson & Black-Kettle spoke, & complained that the Commissioner & myself unnecessarily prolonged the Council, to which I replied. Mr. Strong the interpreter made a few remarks in reply to Pierce. Just before sunset I went with Mr. Gillet into the forest & we walked two miles for exercise. There was a Corn Feast at Jack Berry's town this day & a dance in the evening.

Sep 14. A superb morning. Mr. Cone informed me yesterday that the Indians were very superstitious, especially the pagan portion of the tribe.

There are now two great prophets, in the tribe, one residing on the Tonnawanda reservation by the name of Hanne-yat-hoo, & the other Ne-an-wis-tan-an on this. The former states that there are four angels which are annually sent to him by the great spirit, whose special duty it is to take charge of the Seneca Indians, & that they inform him of what errors the Indians fall into, the vices they indulge in & the crimes they commit & what it is necessary for them to do to please the great spirit, & prevent the calamities which will befall the nation unless there is a reformation in conduct. He has recently told the Tonnawanda indians, that a terrible sickness was coming from the rising sun, which would exterminate them unless they had a great feast & dance & all took a particular kind of medicine, which he had been instructed how to prepare. This has been done & the indians are now safe from the disastrous evils, with which they were threatened. An easy & cheap mode of being saved from the ravages of a sweeping pestilence. These self made Prophets are cunning men & ever have been in all ages & nations; they either put off the evil so far, that no one dreads the ills prognosticated,—or bring it so near that their *own power* is made *manifest*, in arresting the wrath of the almighty:—The one gives a mysterious & awful dignity to their character & the other insures confidence in their supernatural powers. Man is thus taxed, by the cunning & lazy, and reverence is paid to rascals, who should be lashed into labor for their support, instead of being permitted to roam about the country to alarm the weak & foolish & live on their industry. Since the days of the Phareos, prophets have gulled the people, both civilized & savage; even the christians have ever & anon remarkable prophets among all the various sects. from the Pope down to the meanest villain who calls himself a missionary to the lost sinners. Why then should not the poor indian, the ignorant savage have the consolation of prophets, to threaten them with all the horrors of famine pestilence & war, & then give joy to the affrighted wretches, by the power of averting the wrath of God. It is a delightful kind of moral shower bath,—the dark of terror & then the exhilarating flow of comfort when

the shock is over. Little children are we; to be alarmed & quieted, by a nursery tale. God forgive all villains & fools & save us from their rascality & errors.

The illustrious prophet of this reservation, [blank in original]* dreams like the patriarchs of old & sees visions. Since the question of emigrating to the west has been agitated in the tribe, & very recently this learned pagan, reports that he went to hell, in one of his spiritual nocturnal excursions. He passed over an immense prairie & at the distant end beheld an enormous stone edifice, without doors or windows, but the guide, who accompanied him,—being a special messenger from the Great Sp[irit] knocked against the wall & instantly an opening was made, from which issued a blaze that ascended hundreds of feet above the roofs, & he beheld within huge potash kettles, filled with boiling oil & molten lead, & there were the wicked rising & falling & tumbling over in the bubbling fluids, & ever & anon as the heads of some were thrown above the top of kettles they gave a horrid yell & down they plunged again. There he was told would be punished all the chiefs who advocated emigration. But the Indian Hell, among all the tribes, has this advantage, over that, which most of our pious & merciful clergymen have so liberally contrived for the christian disciples,—there is a term to all the awful punishments inflicted on even the most hardened sinner, the offences being atoned for by a shorter or longer boil, according to their greater or less heinous character; & finally all go to heaven & hunt & dance & eat & enjoy themselves in the vast prairies & forests of the Great Spirit's dominions except witches & for them they have imitated the justness & intelligence of the most civilized nations of christians, & leave them simmering in hell for all eternity. But still there is a good chance for them,—for as the offence is imaginary, & no positive evil is actually done, the Great Spirit may allow them to take the great

* It is not clear who filled the rôle of prophet among the Senecas at this date. Handsome Lake, founder of what is known as the Pagan belief now observed by most non-Christians of the Six Nations, died at Onondaga in 1815. His grandson Sase-he-wa, otherwise known as James (oftener as "Jimmy") Johnson, also a prophet, died about 1830.

Peace Path to Heaven, without even a halt at the inconvenient half way house of hell.

Evening. The Council met at half past 12 & Bennet, a chief from the Cattaraugus reservation, commenced a speech in reply to personal charges made against him the day before, by I. Jimmenson. He had got through with his defence & was proceeding in remarks that were perfectly correct & unobjectionable having no offensive import on the conduct of the chiefs who signed the treaty & the contracts for the sale of the land at the Council last winter, when he was rudely interrupted by an insolent & ill-mannered young chief by the name of Pierce.* Bennet observed that those chiefs who had agreed in the sale of the land & now refused to assent to the amended treaty, were in fact depriving the indians of their home here & preventing them from obtaining that which was so generously offered by the national government. Pierce charged him with stating falsehoods, & when called to order by the Commissioner & directed to be seated, that he could answer Bennet when he had finished his speech, he insolently replied that he would not sit down & that he would interrupt him or the commissioners either when he chose; that he was not to be put down. I then observed that the commissioner presided in the council & that in conformity to the rules for the government of all deliberative bodies, no one was to be interrupted in debate, in the rude & unwarrantable manner he had attempted, & that if he did not sit down & be silent he would be put out of the council.

* This was possibly Maris B. Pierce, a Seneca chief of good education, who had attended Dartmouth College, and a speaker and writer of no little force. Some days before this outbreak, on Tuesday evening, Aug. 28, 1838, he gave a public address in the Baptist Church of Buffalo. The *Commercial Advertiser's* report of it said: "The main object seemed to be to show that the operation of the late treaty with the Senecas, if it be carried into effect, would be injurious to their improvement as a people, and decidedly opposed to their pecuniary interests. Upon this topic he dwelt with much earnestness, and at considerable length." The address was published in pamphlet form in Philadelphia in 1839, with the following title: "Address on the present condition and prospects of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of North America, with particular reference to the Seneca Nation. Delivered at Buffalo, New York, by M. B. Pierce, a chief of the Seneca Nation, and a member of Dartmouth College." Pierce was one of the most ardent opponents of the proposed removal of his people. Fisher Pierce, a Seneca from Cattaraugus, was active in the councils of his people at this time, and it may have been he, and not Maris, who was guilty of the disturbance.

Mr. Gillet then called on the old chief Captain Pollard, who had attended all the Councils since that held by Col. Pickering at Canadagua, to state what was the practice as to the mode of conducting the debates. I. Jimenson then got up & in a passionate tone said Capt. Pollard should not speak & Big Kettle arose & in a furious manner, began to abuse the Commissioner & me, when Jimenson bound from his seat & rushed upon the venerable Pollard who was standing near the table at which we were sitting & pushed him toward his seat in a wrathful manner. Col. White a gentleman from Chataque county who sat near, started up & took hold of Capt. Pollard, to prevent him from falling & at the same time seized Jimenson. Black Kettle then ran towards White & took hold of him while Jimenson took Mr. Strong the interpreter by the throat, & crushed him down upon the table on which he was leaning in front of me. The war whoop was then given by the partisans of those rash & desperate chiefs & the whole rushed forward to where the Commissioner & I sat & their leaders were in a furious manner using the most threatening language; Mr. Gillet & myself rose & attempted to restore order, & after considerable difficulty they took their seats, when we both addressed them on the disgraceful impropriety of their conduct. We then consulted as to the propriety of the course to be pursued & concluded to adjourn the council until monday & in the meantime procure the aid of the civil authority, & if necessary a military force to call on Col Crane of the U. S. Army who commanded at Buffalo. This determination was announced by the Interpreter & the council adjourned to monday at eleven oclock.

When we got to our lodging, we called in the Indian Agent, Judge Stryker, & consulted what it was expedient to do in such an unprecedented conjuncture of affairs; & it was determined that the High Sheriff of the County should be requested to attend with a sufficient number of deputies & constables to preserve order in the Council & protect us from outrage & insult & to request Col. Crane who commanded the U. S. troops at Buffalo to inform us, whether, in the event a military force should be required, he would send out

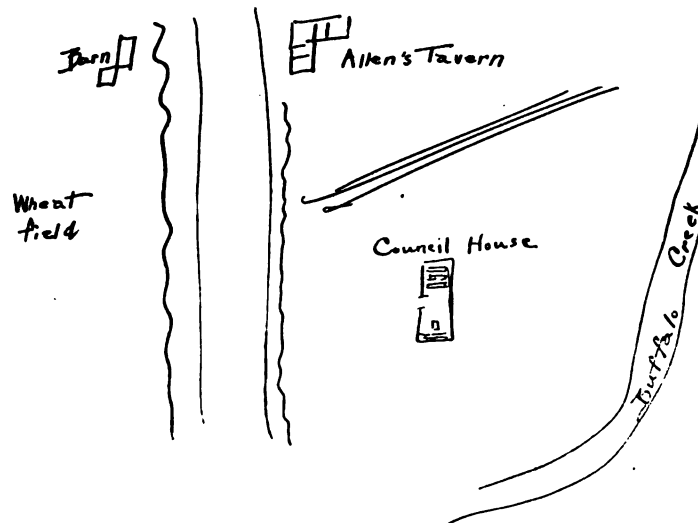
a company, to be encamped in the vicinity, for the purpose of supporting the civil officers should it be required, and that Mr. Strong should go into Buffalo to make complaint before a magistrate against Jimenson for an assault & have him arrested & bound over to keep the peace. These measures were carried into effect forthwith. Strong went to the city & fortunately the sheriff soon after arrived & he promptly promised to be here on monday, with a civil power sufficient to maintain order, if possible & I wrote to Col. Crane to ascertain whether he would cooperate, if requested by Mr. Gillet & myself.

At dusk Seneca White & Little Johnson called as a deputation from the opposition chiefs, who had conducted in such an infamous manner, to state that they intended to meet on monday, at the Council House in Jack Berry's town, for the purpose of inquiring into the conduct of the refractory chiefs. Mr. Gillet informed them he expected they would meet to morrow, in the Council House here, with all the other chiefs to deliberate on a transaction so disgraceful to the nation; that it was no party question, but one which involved the reputation of all the chiefs, & that they were bound in honor to themselves & the Seneca tribe, to meet in open council & make a proper example of the lawless & desperate chiefs, who had so grossly insulted the Commissioner & Superintendent of Masses, & the government of the United States & that which the latter represented. They appeared much ashamed of the conduct of their party & said they would report, what had been said to them. Thus the affair stands this evening. I wrote the Governor this forenoon, before this disgraceful transaction was consummated.

Sep. 15. A glorious morning. There was a splendid exhibition of the aurora borealis last evening at nine o'clock, extending from the N. E. to the S. W. & reaching the zenith, the coruscations were vivid from a dark space near the horizon, & shot up in collums of great width & brightness. In the eastern section there was a blood red tint, reaching from the top of the dark space half way to the zenith & extending for several degrees, like the reflection of a distant fire. In the south west, were horizontal flashes which came out in waves

towards the east & preceded the aurora as it advanced towards the zenith; it resembled the winking light which the heat-lightning, as it is called, presents,—the reflection of a distant thunder shower; but evidently was caused in the manner as the common auroras which illumine our northern nightly skies. I concluded a letter to my dear wife this morning of 8 pages, closely written over margins & all. I was a little oppressed night before last from eating cabbage; but by fasting on tea yesterday, I am pretty well this morning.

Situation of the Council House*:



The Council House is in a beautiful grove on the bank of the Buffalo Creek, containing about seven acres. I have noticed the following variety of trees some of which are at least 90 feet high & four feet through at the butt: Slipery

* On the location of the Seneca and Onondaga council houses, see Henry R. Howland's paper on "The Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek," Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., pp. 127-128. Gen. Dearborn's rough sketch herewith is the only drawing or diagram known which shows the relative positions of the river, the highway and the buildings indicated thereon.

Elm, Weeping Elm, Button Wood, Basswood, Black Walnut, Butternut, Hickory, Rock Maple, White Maple, Tulip tree Wild native apple, Hawthorn & numerous shrubs & herbaceous flowers. There are three hundred or more trees in the grove, which render it a most picturesque & interesting place, with the groups of Indians laying under the trees, with each a little fire kindled in an old stump, or a dead log, or a little pile of dry bark & roots, to light their pipes; & among them white men & women walking about.

Afternoon, there being no Council this day, I have written the Governor a letter of 8 pages & Mr. Bigelow Secretary of State one of three pages. I walked from 12 to quarter past one, in the forest, north of the Buffalo road. I am reading in the vol. of State Papers, the documents in relation to the Indians of this state. The written speeches of Cornplanter to Genl. Washington in 1790 are elegant & superior to any other indian communication I ever read. I found in the written speech of Cornplanter, Half-Town & Big Tree sent to General Washington Dec 29. 1790 that they called him the Town-Destroyer, & in reading Procters Journal, to Buffalo Creek, to hold a treaty with the Senecas, Washington was called by the Indians The Great Chief, Ho-non-da-ga-ni-us. This evening I asked Cone, my young Tonawanda friend, what was the meaning of that name, & he said it was, Town Destroyer; but that it now meant President of the United States whoever the individual was, & had been thus used, through all the administrations, since Washingtons. Thus we see how a name given to designate a man, at last designates the office he held, who ever might be occupent.

The reason for the name, was this. Genl. Sullivan, in his expedition against the Indians of New York, during the Revolution, was ordered to burn all the towns & destroy all the corn, which was fully done, & the whole of the indian settlements, to Genesee river, were laid waste. Washington being Commander in Chief & then the head of the nation, the Indians, in the true Grecian & Roman style, gave him the significant name of Ho-non-da-ga-ni-us or Town Destroyer.

I received a letter from Col. Crane this evening, inform-

ing me that Genl Macomb* had arrived at Buffalo, & that he had laid my letter of yesterday before him, and that he was authorized to inform me that a military force would be sent here whenever requested; so that now we have the most ample means to maintain order & compel the Indians to conduct with propriety.

There has been a warrant issued & the Sheriff has been out here to arrest Jimenson, but he has either secreted himself or fled to Cattaraugus where he lives. There are many threats of violence from Big-Kettle & other chiefs; but I do not apprehend the least difficulty in future in the Council. The power which it will be known we have at our command will insure tranquility. There is no more wise & safe mode of conducting, on all occasions than to be prepared to vindicate, defend & maintain any position which it is necessary to assume, & leave it not [to] the uncertainty of events. To be ready for, is the sure way to prevent difficulties. Peace is the prize of efficient power to command it.

Sep. 16. There was a frost for the second time this season last night & the ground is white this morning, with the hoary messenger of stern Winter.

Corn-Planter states, in his written speech to Washington of 1790, that, if he is determined to crush the Indians, one chief has said, "he will retire to the Chateaugay, eat of the fatal root, & sleep with his fathers, in peace." I asked Cone what root was alluded to, & he informed it was of a plant, that grew on moist land, resembling the Skunk Cabbage, was sweet to the taste & that a small handful produced death. It tasted & smelt like the parsnip. He knew it well & had tasted of it. It was pleasant to eat. The effect was violent spasms, the head & body was drawn back with strong convulsions, as in the lock-jaw. He said he had known of several suicides from eating it. & was the only mode of self destruction among the Indians. Doct. Wilcox informed me two women at Cattaraugus had eaten the "*fatal root*," within two years, & died, one from disappointed love. Cone states

* Major General Alexander Macomb, one of the successful generals of the War of 1812, was at this time (1838) commander-in-chief of the U. S. Army, which rank he held from 1835 till his death in 1841. He arrived in Buffalo, from Detroit, Sept. 12, 1838.

that love unrequited was a common cause of suicide. He confirms, what several other persons both Indians & white men,—that the Indians are very licentious. There is no courtship or form of marriage & that either party may leave the other when they please & take another wife or husband the next hour. The girls are generally married at from 14 to 17 years of age. They have little chastity among them, either among the married women or girls. The females are amorous & as often seek the men, as the latter them. It is a mere brute passion which brings the man & woman together. The men never notice the females in public, they neither accompany them to feasts & dances, speak to them there or wait upon them home. He thinks there are not ten chaste females in the whole Seneca nation, above 13 years of age.

The idling of these people & their brutal intemperance is disgusting & inexcusable. Cone thinks that more than three quarters of the time of the men is taken up in feasts, dances, useless councils & other amusements, & in fact I am satisfied that but few ever work & most of them not one day in ten. As to improving their condition it is preposterous in their present settlement. They have no honor, pride, honesty, or dignity left. They unite all the vices of the indians to those of the lowest & basest of the whites. Chiefs are in this Council who are ragged & filthy as beyond the meanest beggars among the whites. There are not a dozen men in the nation who do not get drunk, whenever they can obtain spirit. The women work on the land & make bead work, brooms, baskets & other articles for sale & pick berries which they carry to market. They are generally well dressed. Human nature can not appear more despicable than here & as to their being allowed to remain in this position & condition is out of the question. Humanity, more than policy demands that they should be placed in a position where they can be improved & the national government is bound to exercise its power firmly yet beneficently. They should be compelled to work, abandon all their idle ceremonies, be sober & receive instruction in the mechanical & agricultural arts, & taught to read & write. Let them be pagans until they have been made industrious & sober & then they will become christians.

No white people should be allowed to reside among them for any purpose, except as agents & instructors, under the direction of the government of the United States.

We compel the idle & intemperate to work, by confining them in alms houses, or in the tillage of lands connected with the alms-houses establishments. Why should these barbarians be allowed to wander about the country & be the pitiable vagrants of our towns. We are holding a treaty, with some 80 Indians, three quarters of whom, are ragged, filthy, ignorant, lazy, drunken, & worthless wretches,—more degraded & debased than the vicious inmates of our most thronged poor houses,—for most of them, when sober, are sensible & capable of reason, & have some education; but these vagabonds, are as stupid as they are ignorant & base in character & conduct. It is a ridiculous mockery of sovereignty,—a contemptable show of respect & gravity, to be treatying with men, who are incapable of comprehending the simplest statement; & who should be made to do, what the intelligence & kindness of the government, have deemed indispensable, for their comfort & moral elevation. How preposterous is it for such characters to be talking about their ancient rights their independence & customs. They are reduced to the lowest possible state of vice, & grovling dissipation & shameful idleness & appeal to the white people to leave them in a condition where they can indulge in all their debased & degrading habits, and ultimately to become the miserable and disgusting applicants for the means of subsistence,—begging not for food & rayment merely, but the means of getting beastly drunk & wallowing in the filth of our high-ways. Is it justice mercy, humanity, or christian like to leave a race of men thus depraved to themselves, to be a foul blot on the face of society,—a constant spectacle of misery which is as deleterious upon the habits of the whole people, with whom they comingle, as it is revolting to humanity & fatal to themselves. The georgian knot must be cut & the laws & power of the nation substituted for this sham exercise of diplomatic authority & respectful treatment towards a people, who are incapable of managing their own affairs & providing for their own means of subsistence. They are to be treated

as children, by a kind & merciful & generous parent, be compelled to so conduct as to merit consideration esteem, respect & honor.

I walked on the bank of the Creek for an hour or more after breakfast, & went up it nearly two miles, on the immediate shore or first bank. The water is very low being only a few inches deep any where. The whole would pass through a space 6 feet wide & three inches deep. The strata of slate stone which forms the bottom, is broken by nearly parallel fractures or seams, into lamina from 2 to 6 feet wide, which run from N. E. to S. W. & occasionally, there is a seam, which cuts the others obliquely,—their course being nearly east & west. There are small boulders on the shore, or flint & lime-stone, united in veins, as if moulten & run together. The day is magnificent, & my thoughts are far off, with my dear family, on the shore of the ocean. I hope soon to be able to be on my journey home.

I walked with Mr. Gillet over to the Onondaga Council House, at four oclock where there has been a corn feast & dance all day. We remained about half an hour. our object in going was to convince the indians that threats would not intimidate, for it was reported to us that Big-Kettle had said he would tomahawk the Commissioner the first he met him. I went to see the aged sick woman, for whom I provided a doctor. She is fast recovering & sits up part of the day. She was glad to see me. I gave her a dollar to purchase biscuit & other articles of food. We got back by sunset.

The dress of the squaws is as follows: A blue broad-cloth peticoat, with a border of white beads worked round the bottom from an inch to five inches wide or a strip of bead work up the front 2 to 3 inches in width. This is of one piece of cloth, united in front, & without a pleat. To confine it, there is a strong deer skin string tied round the waist just above the hips. They step into the peticoat & draw it up so as to be just above the ankles at the bottom, the belt is slipped up, & a fold being made in the top of the peticoat, on each hip, behind it is held tight round the waist & the belt then slipped down over it, & the portion above the belt, rolled

over it, which keeps this neat & rich garment in place. The leggings are of blue, green, or red broad cloth. They are about nine inches in diameter, made in the form of cylinder, & confined by a garter below the knee. The bottom of them touch the instep & are ornamented with beads like the petticoat. The gown or upper garment is usually of calico made like a hunting shirt, dropping down to the hips, united in front with brooches & frequently a row round the neck & down the sleeves, over the whole is worn either a white blanket like a mantle or a piece of blue black or brown broadcloth which is put over the head & held by the hands so drawn over the chest as to cover the body & leaving only the face exposed. The most able & tasty wear broad cloth mantles when at a dance, or on a visit to the city. They are two yards square, & never hemed, or ornamented,—or is the list taken off. The hair is invariably parted in the middle & carried back & united in a knot to which broad & long black ribbands are suspended, falling down as low as the hips; or the hair is simply tied near the head & hangs down loose. Earrings & all of silver are universal. I saw but one ordinary pair among all the women; the brooches are also silver & their rings save in a few instances gold was seen. The mocasins are deer skin ornamented with beads & porcupines quills.

The process of dressing the deer-skin is very simple & peculiar to the Indians. The skin when taken from the deer, is carefully deprived of every particle of flesh, & then stretched between poles, vertically. The Hunter put up round his camp upright poles ten or twelve feet high & sufficiently far enough apart to allow the skin to be stretched to its greatest width, & others are lashed horizontally to them,—one at the bottom near the ground & the other sufficiently high to admit the skin to be extended its whole length. Bass wood bark is prepared in strips & one of them is made to pass all round the skin in holes cut near the edge, so as to form loops about one or two inches apart; to these loops other strings are fastened & passing round the vertical & horizontal poles, the skin is expanded to its greatest possible extent & surface. They remain thus exposed to the open air

withstanding the testimony was full & clear, for the facts, (as I have narrated them,) were proved by five witnesses it was decided that there was no cause of action. The judge of the Police Court is an ignorant, uncultivated & rough man, who has no idea of decency of conduct, or the respect due to the laws & the judicial & other tribunals, of the country.* There was an appeal in this instance, on the recommendation of the commissioner & myself to the civil authority, with the fullest confidence that ample protection would be extended to us, as well as such a judgment, rendered as would have induced all present, to have gone away with a proper regard for the judiciary, & the necessity of so conducting, as would exempt them from merited rebuke & punishment; but he dismissed the auditory of whites & indians, with the evident impression that outrage, & indecorum may be committed, in the council, with impunity, & showing that now it was indispensably necessary to call in a military force for our protection, as well as to enable the Commissioner of the United States to discharge his duty, in conformity to the laws & his positive instructions. How utterly inefficient, in fact, have our civil tribunals proved to be in cases of the heinous character of that which have been so impotently adjudicated. A court commits a man to prison, for even an insulting word to the bench,—or the slightest disturbance the Parliament of Great Britain sends to the tower, or expels, a member who violates the rules of the house. Congress summarily punishes any interruption of its proceedings, or insult offered to its members or officers;—& here, a council, in which is the agent, & Commissioner of the national government, the representative of a state, & those of a nation, is rudely interrupted & broken up in the most shameful, insulting & disgraceful manner, & the interpreter, who is also an officer of the nation, assaulted, and yet we are all treated by a magistrate of a city, to whom a proper appeal is made for redress, as if we were a pack of drunken street brawlers. I do not

* The *Commercial Advertiser* of concurrent dates contains no mention of this case. The police justice was James L. Barton. The office, or court-room where this case was tried, was over the west end of the old Terrace Market, on the Terrace near Pearl Street. The Mayor's office at that time was in the same building.

for two or three months. When they are dressed they are soaked in water; & having a beam fixed obliquely, like that used by currier[s] the skin is, in portions put on it, flesh side down & the hair & outer cuticle, or grain as it is called scraped off with a steel or iron tool, some ten inches or more long, fixed in a wooden handle so as to form a scraper; the edge like that of a skate iron, is ground to sharp corners.

The heads of the deer having been brought to the camp, the skulls are cracked open & the brains taken out, & boiled in water, so as to deprive them of all fibre & fat, & then put on to pieces of bark which are laid up on poles in the camp to dry; this substance is then scraped off into a box, or some other vessel & kept for use, in curing & preparing the deer skin leather. When used it is put into a cloth, & tied up, & that is plunged into hot water, & squeezed & worked by the hand until all the substance of the brains, which is sufficiently soluble passes through which gives the water a milky appearance. In this the skin is soaked & rubbed for a considerable time, which makes the skin swell & become soft, when dry it is rubbed, until the whole of it appears pliable & thoroughly impregnated with the brains. It is then sewed up into a cylinder length ways & closed at the top. A hole about 18 inches deep & a foot in diameter is then dug in the ground, & sticks stuck into the earth around it, as high as the skin, which is drawn over them like an inverted bag, & the lower end spreading out on the ground for two or three inches is covered with earth so as to make it close. In the hole a smoke is made of Hemlock or other bark, which is kept up, until the skin is thoroughly impregnated with the smoke, & assumes a rich Yellowish colour, then it is taken off & again rubbed in the hands, when the leather is fit for use.

Sep. 17. A clear bright, calm & lovely morn & day. The Council met at twelve. when Mr. Gillet announced that in consequence of his being summoned with the Superintendent of Mas. to attend the Police Court in Buffalo, as witnesses in the case of Strong & Jimenson, the council was adjourned to the 18th at 11 o'clock. I went to the city in the afternoon with Mr. Gillet to attend the police court, as a witness in the case of the assault of Israel Jimenson on Strong; & not-

withstanding the testimony was full & clear, for the facts, (as I have narrated them,) were proved by five witnesses it was decided that there was no cause of action. The judge of the Police Court is an ignorant, uncultivated & rough man, who has no idea of decency of conduct, or the respect due to the laws & the judicial & other tribunals, of the country.* There was an appeal in this instance, on the recommendation of the commissioner & myself to the civil authority, with the fullest confidence that ample protection would be extended to us, as well as such a judgment, rendered as would have induced all present, to have gone away with a proper regard for the judiciary, & the necessity of so conducting, as would exempt them from merited rebuke & punishment; but he dismissed the auditory of whites & indians, with the evident impression that outrage, & indecorum may be committed, in the council, with impunity, & showing that now it was indispensably necessary to call in a military force for our protection, as well as to enable the Commissioner of the United States to discharge his duty, in conformity to the laws & his positive instructions. How utterly inefficient, in fact, have our civil tribunals proved to be in cases of the heinous character of that which have been so impotently adjudicated. A court commits a man to prison, for even an insulting word to the bench,—or the slightest disturbance the Parliament of Great Britain sends to the tower, or expels, a member who violates the rules of the house. Congress summarily punishes any interruption of its proceedings, or insult offered to its members or officers;—& here, a council, in which is the agent, & Commissioner of the national government, the representative of a state, & those of a nation, is rudely interrupted & broken up in the most shameful, insulting & disgraceful manner, & the interpreter, who is also an officer of the nation, assaulted, and yet we are all treated by a magistrate of a city, to whom a proper appeal is made for redress, as if we were a pack of drunken street brawlers. I do not

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there had been a determination entered into among them, to maintain order. After some general remarks on the importance of perfect freedom in debate, for the purpose of a full, firm & manly discussion of the subjects under consideration, & that arguments should be refuted, by arguments, instead of being opposed by rudeness & violence, he called on all the chiefs to use their influence to restore & maintain the character of the Seneca Nation, for propriety of conduct, on such grave & interesting occasions.

Mr. Harris then addressed the council in vindication of the charges made against him by Jimenson on the 13th. for entertaining an opinion on the question of emigration, different from that which he professed several years since, & then stated the reasons why he considered [it] expedient for the nation to accept the liberal offer of the government. He made a very able & manly speech.

After Harris resumed his seat, the Commissioner stated, that Bennet, who was prevented from concluding his speech by the disturbances on the 14th. wished to have an opportunity of doing so but that he had been obliged to go home to Catteraugus, & had not yet returned, he should therefore adjourn the Council until eleven o'clock to morrow. He also observed that, he hoped very soon to be able to present the treaty, for the signatures of those who approved the amendments.

There was an annular eclipse of the sun this day. It commenced at 2h. 46m. 58s. & continued until 5. 23. 00. It was a grand spectacle. The weather had been cloudy until just as the eclipse began when the clouds became so thin & scattered as to give a perfect view of the wonderful phenomenon. The eclipse was *annular* here, at Detroit, Harrisburgh, Penn. Norfolk, Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Richmond, Rochester in this state, Toronto in Canada, Trenton, N. Jersey, Petersburg, Wheeling, Washington & New York. The entire eclipse passed over the territory of the Hudson Bay Company, the western part of upper Canada & Lake Superior, the N. E. part of Wisconsin, & the state of Michigan, & over portions of New York Penn^a Maryland, & Virginia. There will not be a total eclipse in New England

or the middle states, during the remainder of this century, or in any other part of the Union until August 7th. 1869.

Sep 19. The heavens are wrapt in clouds & after an unusual long continuance of dry & warm weather there is an appearance of a rain storm. The council did not meet until two oclock, in consequence of the arrival of the agent to make arrangements for the payment of the Indian annuities, & three chiefs of the Wyandots nation, with whom the commissioner of the United States was engaged. We adjourned between four & five.

The fact that a military force was at the disposal of the Commissioner, being made known to the Indians & their bad advisors & instigators, to disorderly conduct, has had the desired effect, & the Council has proceeded since in a perfectly orderly manner. The knowledge, that there is at our command, efficient means to prevent disturbances, has been sufficient to give security without their actual presence.

This has not been the most *agreeable* tour of duty which I have had occasion to perform; but still it has been interesting & instructive, in many respects. It has afforded me an opportunity, to become well acquainted, with the actual condition of the indians in this state, & to behold some of the dark shadows of the human character, which are not often exposed to view, in the quiet walks of life. Then, the developments of the natural resources of our vast western regions, & the mighty influence, which intelligence, industry & enterprise have had, & are continuing to have, on all the branches of national industry, are full of subjects for profound consideration, especially when contrasted with the condition of the nations, who are in the midst of this momentous moral & physical revolution, without having been participants, in the benefits which their white brethren are enjoying. Man is in vigorous action on the shores of these inland seas. He is advancing in all the arts of civilization, on a scale of grandure, with strides more wonderful & consequences more glorious, than in any other period of his existence. The anticipations of the future prosperity, wealth, population & improvements, which are to be developed within half a century, cannot be too extravagant, for the reality, will outstrip,

he calculations of genius & the sanguine hopes of the patriot.

From this point, this position, the American Hercules has gone forth, to achieve more wonderful exploits than those of the son of Alcmena. He went forth to *destroy*, but his republican adventurer to *create*. Indeed, to have a just & adequate conception of our flourishing country & the rapidity of its advancement, it is necessary to be on one of those magnificent highways, over which the armies of emigration & the products of our own agriculture manufactures commerce, forests & mines are thronging to an extent, that fills the spectator, with astonishment, gladness & pride. On these great lakes, rivers canals & railroads water & steam are displaying their grandest energies, by the combined influence of science & the arts. There is besides another aspect, which is scarcely less worthy of notice, in which we are to be gratified, when looking out upon these western regions. It is the immensity of the natural features of the country,—grandure, sublimity & beauty. They are a boundless & exhaustive magazine, for furnishing subjects, on which the imagination may luxuriate, sentiment find materials for its fullest action, & the whole mind themes for deep contemplation.

And to all these are to be added the historical reminiscences, connected with the remains of fortifications, whose foundations mark the date of the first settlement of the shores of the St. Lawrence, Ontario, Niagara & Erie. Here are the battlefields of the Indian French & British colonial wars, that of the revolution, & the last, in which this nation has been involved, with a foreign power. Besides, there are the botanical zoological, & geological branches of inquiry, which present numerous objects, to the curious investigator, of the vegetable, animal & mineral realms. From all of which, if a few ideas are gathered up, I shall be amply compensated, for whatever of trouble & annoyance I may have experienced.

The three Wyandots, have been on to Washington to negotiate a treaty for the sale of the right of possession to their lands in Ohio & to remove to the Indian territory in the

west. One of them has resided four years in that new home of the indians with the Seneca band which moved there from Ohio. He went on purpose to view the country, & recently returned so much pleased with it that the tribe has determined to go. The Wyandots reside on the Sandusky river about 40 miles above the town of that name. There are only 500 of them left, & their reservation is equal to that of the Senecas in this state, it being 110,000 acres. They attend the council this day & two of them made speeches to the indians advising them by all means to sign the treaty & go west. The interpreter's name is Lane, who reported in Seneca what the Wyandots said & Strong our interpreter gave it to us in English. Lane informed me he was the first white man born west of Utica. He had his birth in Buffalo in 1786, when there was only one other house besides his father's. and that belonged to a Negro who kept a little shop to trade with the Seneca Indians.*

Col. Jones brought me in this evening the "fatal root" which the Indians eat & the whole plant attached; it is called the wild parsnip & the seeds resemble those of the

* This statement is probably true, although it has been claimed that the first white male child born in Buffalo was Aldrich Wells, born here in 1797. In the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society is a daguerreotype of an aged man; preserved with it is the following record: "Daguerreotype of Ezekiel Lane, who died in Buffalo in 1848, aged 102 years. In 1796 there were but four buildings on the present site of Buffalo. Of these, the first was built by Mr. Lane and his father-in-law Martin Middaugh. It was a double log house on or near Exchange Street, a little east of Washington Street. This house was occupied by Judge Barker in 1807 or 1808. Middaugh died in the winter of 1822 at an extreme old age." The picture of Lane, taken after his death, was deposited with the Buffalo Historical Society, by the Young Men's Association, in April, 1865. Newspaper notices printed at the time state that he died on April 6, 1848, that he was the first white resident of Buffalo, and erected the first house here, in 1784. He was a soldier of the Revolution, and fought at the battle of the Minnisink, in 1779. For the last twenty years of his life he was a member of the Methodist church, and his funeral was held on Sunday, April 9th, from the Swan-street Methodist church. The Buffalo City Directory for 1844 has this entry: "Lane, Ezekiel, 1st settler 99 years old 6 s side buff creek." The earlier directories do not mention him, probably because they listed only people who were in business. If, as appears, Ezekiel Lane was born in 1745 or '46, he was about 93 years old at the time of the councils on Buffalo Creek attended by Gen. Dearborn. The Lane who then acted as interpreter, said he was born at Buffalo in 1786; which would have made him 52 years old at the time of the council, and fixes his birth at about two years after Ezekiel Lane settled here. Inferentially, he was a son of the first settler, though the present editor finds nothing to prove it.



EZEKIEL LANE, FIRST WHITE RESIDENT OF BUFFALO.
FROM A DAQUENECOTYPE TAKEN AFTER HIS DEATH, IN 1848. SEE PAGE 110, NOTE.

parsley or rather more the coriander. The root is composed of several tubers, which grow in the manner & are in the shape of those of the Dahlia, but not so large. There are five or six tubers to each plant. It is biennial. The tubers are round & smooth; skin light yellow. The flesh of the root is white & tastes—for I chewed a piece of it, sweet & delicate, something like that of a parsnip. Mr. Cone & Mr. Jones had seen Indian women who had eaten it, in the agonies of death. Two tubers of the size of those drawn on the opposite page [sketch omitted], several Indians told me, this evening, would kill the stoutest man, in half an hour. It brings on violent spasms & they appear delirious. They are convulsed, & the head & back drawn back as in cases of the lock-jaw. Women, from love & jealousy, often become victims to this "*fatal root*." The death scene is horrible, so excruciating are the spasms.

This has been a cloudy & cool day, but it cleared up at dusk, & the night is cold. I have had a fire in my room all the day & evening.

Sep 20. A clear & beautiful morning. I have written the Governor a letter of eight pages this day. I find on special inquiry of the indians that they have as much beard as the whites, but that it is pulled out, from time to time as it appears which is a painful operation & that now all those who have adopted the dress & habits of the whites shave. The men & women have as much hair on their private parts, —& which is never eradicated, as the white men & women.

The females are remarkably cleanly in their persons, as they bathe or wash themselves all over, several times a week. —custom & pride of purity of their bodies, makes this a fixed & uniform custom. Several white men, who have been born & lived in the midst of the indians, & been on the most familiar & intimate terms with the females, assure me that they are as modest in language & conduct in private, as they are conspicuously & admirably so in public:—that they are gay, full of wit & pleasantries—talkative & remarkably agreeable in all respects, & in their love attachments ardent, faithful, kind & indefatigable in their exertions to please. They are in no fear of their husbands & feel & act on a per-

fect equality with them ; advise them in all their conduct in the mightiest matters & have immense influence, for they may leave them when they chose & when not treated kindly invariably do so. This induces the husbands to treat their wives well. The latter have certain duties & labor to perform growing out of their peculiar condition as a people & their habits & customs of all time. The men were often & long absent from home, either in campaigns or on their hunts, which devolved the charge of the household on the wife. She was of necessity obliged to plant & gather the corn & vegetables ; make all the clothing, lay up & cook the various articles of food. These duties are not arbitrarily imposed & exacted, but are peculiar, & considered as belonging to the females as not only indispensable to the comfort & existence of themselves & children, but proper in all respects, & they, therefore, cheerfully perform them. The descent is through the females & the children belong to the mother, who takes them with her, if she separates from her husband & provides for them. He has nothing to do with them after. In fact the wife is more useful & important to the husband than he is to her. She lives with him from love. For she can obtain her own means of support better than he can. It is his interest therefore to so conduct as to retain her affections. As mothers they are affectionate, careful, kind & laborious in their care of their little children. They carry them with them, when nursing every where ; they are never separated. they take them to the dances, dance with them in their arms, carry them on their backs to town, & I never saw so many fat & healthy babes among the white women, as I have here with the Indian. The little girls of three & six years old are many of them beautifully clad like their mothers, & their dresses covered with brooches. I have not seen an unkind look or word between the females, or between them & the men. The latter merely do not attend to them in public & the females do not expect it. Their ways are not like ours & they are content & happy in the position they occupy. Equals & quite as independent as the men in all that is general as to both, & each separately forming his or her duties as things proper & indispensable for the

interest & happiness of themselves in their several domestic private & common relations.

Persons who have attended the Council & in or out of it, have endeavored to induce the Indians not to emigrate are, Rev. A. Wright Missionary, residing on the reservation, John Lay, Step. Grovner [Grosvenor], Seth Grovner, R. B. Heacock & Son. Charles Norton, Charles R. Gold Atty, besides many others. Lay claims a debt of 2,500, which is the reason of his opposition. Hecock, has the canal for his mills &c. Grovner is brother-in-law to Hecock. Mr. Jones gave a written statement to Mr. Gillet in which he states that he heard Norton say if the Ogden company would give Stephen Grovner 2,000 all opposition on the part of the above named most active partizans of Heacock, Norton & the Grovners.—[would cease]

The following described minerals were presented to me by Doct. Henry P. Wilcox, of Irving Chautauqua county N. York. No. 1. Magnetic Iron Ore from the Hot Springs of Arkansaw, about 100 miles S. W. from Little Rock, between the Arkansaw & Red Rivers, scattered in boulders of from small pieces not more than half an inch to two feet in diameter. The soil a coarse gravelly clay, & moist. No. 2 Prarie Salt, from near the margin of the Salt branch of the Arkansaw, & about 250 west of Fort Gibson. The Prarie is a mile & a half long $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile wide & covered entirely with the salt from six inches to a foot thick. The Indians for a vast region supply themselves with it. It accumulates from the soil, as the water ooses up from below & is evaporated by the sun. No. 3. Sulphate of Zinc from the tract designated for the Senecas in the Indian territory In a prarie between the Little Osage & Maridisane, on a vast elevation about 50 feet high & 4 or 500 wide running in a ridge across the prarie many miles in lenth. No. 4. Lead ore from the Indian territory in a ledge situated in a gravelly soil. No. 5 Limestone, with shells, from an elevation in the Indian territory. No. 6. Amber from the margin of the Maumetow, on a moist prarie, in the Seneca location. It is in large quantities. No. 7. Sandstone from a ledge on the Missouri half way from the mouth to Fort Leavenworth. No. 8. Silver,

—Virgin, from Taxes. No. 9. Gold from Missouri. It is in a ledge near a stream & in vast quantities & the position of the ledge is only known to Doct. Wilcox, who intends to go there this autumn & endeavor to secure the land as it has been surveyed since he was there two years since, & will soon be offered for sale by the government.

The Council met at one oclock. judge Skiken [? Stryker] stated to the chiefs that the paymaster had made arrangements to pay them their annuities on the 8th. of October.

Robinson, one of the Chiefs from the Alleghany Reservation, arose & observed, that he had been deputed, by the party in opposition to the treaty, to ask me some questions, which they wished I would answer. 1st. whether the treaty was not to be presented in council, for their assent or objection, and whether if not approved the old treaty would be binding. 2d, what was my opinion of the conduct of the Commissioner, during the council & whether I thought it had been proper.

In reply, I stated the object for which I had been sent,—my opinion as to the practicability of improving their condition, which I alledged, I always believed could be done, if liberal & active measures were taken by the government. I stated what had been done in other ages & nations, & especially in Russia, since the days of Peter I. &c. &c. &c.; & after a speech of about half an hour, I answered, that, the treaty must be presented in open council & unless approved it was null & void, & that it was the opinion of the Governor of Massachusetts, that unless the treaty was ratified by the Indians, so intimately connected was it, with the contract for the sale of their land, the latter would be of no effect, but that he did not so positively decide, & that it was a subject for deep consideration. It however was his opinion if the treaty was rejected the contract was void.

As to the conduct of the Commissioner, I had carefully attended to all he said, & had examined the treaty & the proceedings of the Senate thereon, & all the other papers which he had read & that I sincerely believed he had, honestly & honorably taken unwearied pains, fully to explain & illus-

trate the subjects submitted for their consideration, & that he had not given any statements or facts which I did not believe to be true.


After I had concluded, Mr. Gillet made a speech in relation to the manner in which the treaty was to be assented to. He said that he should lay it before them in Council, & all who chose could there sign it, & such as preferred doing so elsewhere, they would be allowed so to do. He then commented on the letter which Moris [Maris] B. Pierce read yesterday, from Mr. Robins, a Senator from Rhoad Island, until after four, when the Council adjourned.

Evening. Judge Paine of Aurora took tea here this evening, & informed me that he came through this reservation 31 years ago, & then the Indians were a noble & well-dressed race of dignified & manly bearing, living comfortably & respectably, the flats of the Buffalo Creek was one continued Cornfield; but that they have degenerated in a lamentable manner, ragged & miserable in their dress houses & mode of existence, the larger portion of their fields grown up to bushes & weeds & their chief subsistence is obtained by begging, in the neighboring city & villages & that mendicant parties extend their alms seeking to Genesee river. Their habits intemperate & mean, and all self respect & independence of character gone. He thinks they have diminished at least a third in population & that their extinction will soon be inevitable unless they emigrate. They are a great injury to the community around them, while the large tract of land on which they live, being 16 miles long & 8 wide containing 50,000 acres nearly, is so much obstructed from agriculture & is in fact a wilderness in the midst of a flourishing farming county. The Tonnawandas are still more wretched, as are the Alleghanies, while those at Cataraugus are in equally as forelorn a state. Judge Paine has passed through this reservation almost weekly since 1807 & has had the best means of observing their decadence during that long period.

I have been reading this evening the Travels of Chateaubriand, in Greece, Palestine & Egypt for the 2d time, having read it some 20 years since,— & have been much interested

for he is an eloquent writer. This passage is very epigrammatic & instructive & striking from the correctness of the truths it proclaims. He is at Corinth, the place of exile of the tyrant of Syracuse who became a school-master, & the residence of the fatal victim of remorse—and observes: “I shall say nothing of Dionicious & of Timoleon,—one of whom was so cowardly as not to die, the other so unfortunate as to live.”

September 21. Weather still mild & clear, day & night, save the latter are a little cool. Mr. Hecock, a wealthy man by [?but] a great black-guard had the effrontery to harang the Indians & spectators, yesterday, in the Council House after the Council had adjourned. I learned from several persons who heard him, that he called Mr. Gillet a liar, scoundrel, & perjured villain,—that he had attempted to deceive the indians by falsehood &c. &c. This infamous man, the owner of the canal which runs through the Indian lands is fearful, if the treaty is confirmed he will be obliged to pay a just price for the use of it to the preemptioners instead of the paltry sum of 30 dols. a year to the Indians. This is his motive of beneficence to the indians. I have not seen a man who does not think the offers of the government magnificent, & that it is for their interest, ay, their very ex-istance to emigrate, except some half a dozen who are & have been reaping advantages from the indians in some way; & the latter have been indefatigable in their exertions to delude & impose upon the ignorance & credulity of the poor indians. They induce them to believe that the government & the Commissioner are their enemies & these infamous wretches their best friends. What base & unprincipled men. I never witnessed such outrageous conduct. I never saw any men who had the effrontery to openly put at defiance all decency of conduct, all regard to truth, every principle of honor & all the decencies of society. It has been a scene of depravity & vulgarity at which one recoils, as from the profligate & reckless depravity of the vilest characters who fill our penitentiaries & houses of correction, what monsters does self interest & the love of gain make of men who have been brought up, without any just notions of



honor, honesty & moral rectitude of conduct or character. Vulgarly, when wealth has been partially accumulated, becomes rapaciousness, & the cunning of the low gambler public robbery & crime is employed only for keeping on the windy-side of the law, but God watches them & the people mark them.

They have a novel mode of taking fish in Lake Ontario. A rope is extended from one projecting head land to another, a distance of several miles, which is supported by buoys,—for the water of the lake is so unfathomable, that the extremities of such a rope can not be confined by anchors. To this rope fish lines are attached at proper distances, which are from 200 to 300 feet long, & the hooks bated. The fishermen pass along the extended rope from fish-line to fish-line & drawing them take off the fish that may have been caught. In this manner vast quantities are daily obtained for the Rochester market & the whole vally of the Genesee, for 30 miles & more are supplied with fresh fish, from an establishment off the mouth of the harbor which cost 800 dollars: so expensive is it to extend the miles of rope, with its numerous fish lines. The pike, pickeral, perch huge salmon trout & other fish are numerous & of excellent quality. They take in the Lake salmon trout which weigh from 6 to 32 pounds. The towns on the shores are supplied with them fresh & they are salted & transported into the interior, so that the business of taking & curing white fish, trout & other fish of the lakes, is very important & employs a great capital & many persons. A company of gentlemen in the City of New York who are concerned in the fur trade in the north west, have established a fishery on Lake Superior, & have built schooners to transport the salt & fish from & to the sault of St Marys to & from the various places where the seining grounds are the best on the shores of the lake. From the foot of the rapids, the barrels of fish are transported over Lakes huron Michigan & Erie to the several towns of trade & there distributed into the interior. There are also large fisheries on all the upper lakes & especially Huron & the St Clair as well as the straits between that & Huron & Erie.

I walked out with Col. Jones this morning to collect seeds

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missioner, who did explain the amendment & that he was satisfied with the correctness of the Commissioner's explanation & said so; & that Mr. Allen then turned to him & said, now you had better go & take the fifteen hundred dollars & sign the treaty & that he presumed the Commissioner heard the offer made to tempt him.

Mr. Gillet then rose & observed that the allegations made by Wilson were false, that after making the explanation of the amendment he immediately left the room & went to his own. He said he had no doubt that Wilson had been induced to make up the falsehood by certain white men & that the man was present who was the instigator & advisor of the foul & infamous plot to ruin his reputation; but that he would, by reputable indians & white men prove, the falsehoods which had been uttered, & that he would do so when the Council again met, or before its final adjournment & that it should not be adjourned until he had done so. He then observed that at the request of White Seneca & other chiefs, in writing, we had consented to adjourn the Council until Monday, as the emigration party wished to meet to morrow, to consider the important question which had been presented to them, & conclude as to the course it was proper for them to pursue. He then remarked but for the scandalous attack made upon his character, he would have presented the treaty & probably closed the Council on Monday; but that now it was impossible to say when it would end.

As soon as Mr. Gillet sat down Mr. Hecock, who had impudently taken a seat, in the midst of the opposition chiefs, between Pierce & I. Jimenson, rose in a great passion, & began to speak. Mr. Gillet ordered him to sit down; & told him that he had no right to speak there, & was a disturber of the proceedings of the Council. Hecock replied that he had a right to speak; that he was among the chiefs of an independent nation who had invited him to appear there & speak; Pierce also got up & insisted that he had a right & should be permitted to speak. That it was their House & Council & that Mr. Gillet had no right to preside there. Mr. Gillet then directed the Sheriff to put Hecock out of the Council & was seconded in this by Judge Stryker, who

walked with the Sheriff up to Hecock & told him to hold his peace for he should not speak & should be put out,—when Pierce interfered & declared what he had before uttered. Judge Stryker told him to hold his tongue & sit down or he should also be put out, that it was doubtful whether he had a right to sit there, for he was not a chief, & only acted for a child, who had him appointed a chief. I advised that Hecock should be put out of the Council House. There was considerable commotion. & Big Kettle got up & came near the table where we were sitting & said the chiefs had the whole power there & that if the council was not ended in a week they would carry us off of the reservation bundled up like packs.

As Hecock insisted he had a right to speak & refused to & would not go out, the Sheriff & Judge Stryker called on the white persons present to assist the civil authority, when some ten or twelve men went forward, & Hecock called on the Warriors to protect him. They did not however & the Sheriff put him out. After order was restored the Council was adjourned to Monday at eleven oclock.*

After the adjournment I met Mr Allen & Charles Pierce who acted as the interpreter between Mr. Gillet & Wilson. Mr. Allen stated, that he was passing a room, in Allen's tavern & the door being open, he saw that there were some indians within, & entered. That Wilson was talking to Charles Pierce, in relation to an accident which had befallen him in a cutter or sleigh last winter; but soon after Allen's entry, he turned to him & said he did not fully understand the explanation of the Commissioner, as to the amendment of the treaty; that according to the words of the amendment, & what the Commissioner said in Council, it appeared, that if the land was divided among the indians, it would revert to the U. S. when the Indian died who lived on one of the separate lots which had been set off to him. Allen said he told him that he was mistaken, & that it would not revert to the U. S. until all the Indians of the tribe died, or left the tract. He then told Wilson he would call in Mr. Gillet, to explain the matter to him; that he went to Mr. Gillets room

* Charles B. Person was sheriff at this time.

& immediately returned with him, who, having directed Charles Pierce to read the portion of the treaty in question, and translate it to Wilson, it was done. Mr. Gillet then made an explanation confirming what Allen had told Wilson, & went immediately out. That there was not a word said about any money to be paid to him, either while Mr. Gillet was present, or after he left them, while he remained, which was but a moment, when he also went out, leaving Charles Pierce & Wilson in the room. Charles Pierce, who is a highly respectable & educated young Indian from Cattaraugus, about 25 years of age, & son-in-law to the distinguished chief Strong, stated, that Wilson came into Strong's (the interpreter) room, where he was, & said he wished to see the Indian Agent Judge Stryker, to ascertain whether he would not pay him 24 dollars for the damage done to his sleigh or sled; that while they were conversing Mr. Orlando Allen came in, & the conversation, took place which has been related above. That there was not one word said about 1500 dollars by Mr. Allen, or any other sum named to be offered or paid to Wilson; that the latter was not even requested to sign the treaty, & that Allen went out soon after the Commissioner. When they had both gone Wilson said to Pierce, if the Agent will pay me the 24 [blank in original] I will sign the treaty.

Thus it appears a most wicked & infamous plot was contrived & falsehoods uttered, in open council, to give it efficiency, by the parties who induced the miserable wretch to perjure himself, for the purpose of blasting the reputation & rendering the character of the Commissioner odious to the Indians, by convicting him of false statements, & conniving at bribery & corruption, to cause the treaty to be ratified. Such are the mean, base & diabolical methods which the white advisers, & the vilest of the opposition indians, resort to, for the accomplishment of their objects.

Mr. Charles Pierce further stated, that the day before yesterday, only, he met Wilson on the Council grounds, who, pointing to his breast pin, & said, give me that, & I will sign the treaty; but that he walked away, without replying to Wilson. Thus it fully appears Wilson has twice stated that

he would sign the treaty, if a small sum was paid, to indemnify him for what he had lost by the accident in the sleigh, or even a paltry present of a brooch.

September 22. I walked into the woods, at dusk last evening for exercise, the night was warm, as is this morning. I am reading the Memoirs of the Duches D'Abrantes, in one vol. 8vo. This has been a hot sultry day, with a violent S. west wind, & the roads are two or three inches deep with dust & the drought is so extensive & great that many of the wells are without water, & the small streams & springs have dried up.

I went into the woods to walk this forenoon, & enjoy the shade of the majestic forest trees, the deep solitude, the holy kind of stillness which pervaded the vast & devious ile of the wilderness, the soft & mellow light, the balmy air & the presence, as it were of the spirit of God, whose omnipotence was there, in the solemn & peaceful quietude which prevailed,—save, when the sweeping wind bowed the lofty summits of the aspiring maple, hemlock & oak, & their gigantic branches creaked as they swayed against each other in grand, yet graceful motions.

Statements made by Bark, Sky-Carrier & Long John made in the Council with[in] the last ten days.

The amount of Barks story was that white Seneca & another Indian came to him in the evening & talked to him in favor of the treaty & emigration

Long John said he was in one of the rooms of the tavern with several Indians who talked to him in favor of the treaty & emigration & he told them he intended to sign it & meeting Judge Stryker he informed him of his determination who told him he was glad to hear it & gave him five dollars as a present with which he could purchase what he wanted & that he spent it & an Indian woman furnished with the five dollars which he offered to return.

Sky Carrier, stated that he met several Indians in a room at the tavern, who were in favor of emigration & he went to find out what they were doing, & therefore pretended he was in favor of emigration, & told them so, & George Jimenson gave him ten dollars, which he returned to him in council.

All these stories appear to have been concerted with Indians & each of the two last acknowledged that they voluntarily declared they were in favor of emigration, & the latter for the sole purpose of deception to find out what he could.

At dusk we had a heavy thunder shower & it has rained most of the evening.

Mr. Heacock called on me this afternoon, & made the following statement. He lives in Buffalo & owns a large quantity of land in the city. Has been a trader. He had traded with the Indians for many years, & there were now due him debts to the amount of over two thousand dollars; that he thought the government should have authorized the Commissioner, to have made a provision in the treaty, to pay the just claims of the creditors of the indians, but the Commissioner did not feel authorized to do so, although it had been done in the treaties with the Western Indians; that he thought the terms offered to the Indians were liberal & it would be a great benefit to him for them to remove, as he owned land in the City of Buffalo, for a mile in length, adjoining the reservation, which would be much enhanced in value, if the latter was sold & settled by white people. That Genl. Potter had promised to a friend to pay his demands against the indians, in the event the treaty was ratified & he made no opposition to it, & that he had met [?no opposition] until within two weeks when he had been requested to meet with the opposition chiefs & advise them, & that he had done so; that a part of his debt was carpenters work done on the missionary chapel, to the amount of 400 dollars, for building or paying for the building of one or more houses & articles furnished the Indians, frequently on the requisition of chiefs; that he had been requested to speak in Council by them & had their permission when he arose yesterday; that he did not consider that the Commissioner had any right to preside in the Council, & regulate the proceedings of the Council, but that it belonged exclusively to the indian chiefs; that he had prosecuted Mr. Gillet & Mr. Striker for ejecting him from the council, & that a remonstrance had been sent to Washington, against the conduct of Mr. Gillet, for keeping the Council open unnecessarily long; & conducting the

business improperly but that the object of his visit was to express to me his entire approbation of my conduct & that he considered I had acted like an honest, independent & honorable man, in my private & public capacity & that the opposition chiefs entertained the same opinion of me.

I informed Mr. Hickock, that I came here without any prejudices or predilections pro or con, in relation to any of the parties, or persons interested in the subject on which the Council was convened: that I had endeavored to make myself thoroughly acquainted with all the facts, connected with the negotiation & see that the indians were dealt with honestly & fairly. I had not met Mr. Gillet, until on this occasion: that I had carefully watched all his conduct & must frankly say, that I considered him an honest & honorable gentleman, who had the best interests of the indians at heart, & was most anxious to faithfully carry the measures of the government which had been confided to him into effect in a manner that would be for the best advantage of the indians; that I deemed the offers of the government liberal, & beneficent & that it was for the present & future comfort & prosperity of the Indians to accept them: although I was not authorized, as I had stated in Council to advise them, either to assent to, or reject the treaty: that I did not think the council had been unnecessarily protracted & that there had not been a day, that had not been occupied in explanations & discussions & that yesterday morning, the Commissioner had concluded he should be enabled to lay the treaty before the Council on Monday, for signatures, & hoped the business would have been concluded by Tuesday: but that in consequence of the difficulty of yesterday, it was uncertain whether that could now be done, but I hoped it might, for I was anxious to return home. I then observed, that I regretted extremely, the course which had been pursued, by a number of persons, who had been in & about the council & attempted to interrupt & disturb the Council & induce the Indians to believe that false statements had been made to them, by the Commissioner, or that there was a desire to impose upon them by the government & that it would not faithfully fulfill all the stipulations which were made. That the

indians should have been put fully & fairly in possession of all the facts, & then left to decide, whether they would go to the west or remain; that I considered the conduct of Mr. Grovner the other day improper, & his own yesterday; that he had no right to speak in Council, & that Mr. Gillet was authorized & did right, in removing him from the Council; that I advised to the employment of the civil officers to maintain order & protect us in the discharge of our duty, & if necessary a military force could be employed for that purpose; that I came from a section of the country, where perfect order & propriety of conduct was considered indispensable, in conducting public business, & at all meetings where there were persons assembled to act on grave subjects, & that here no persons had a right to interfere in any manner, or speak in the Council, except the parties to the treaty & contracts & I did expect that all the proceedings would be decorously managed.

Mr. Heacock then observed that he had no complaint to make against me, & that he came to express his approbation of my conduct, fearing that reports might be made to me, of a different character, as emanating from him. I told him I was happy to find I had merited his good opinion & should endeavor so to discharge my duties, as to be satisfied with myself, while, I should so conduct as not to be obnoxious to censure by the whites or Indians, if it was in my power. He then left me.

This evening I recommended to Mr. Gillet to send Judge Stryker into Buffalo to morrow morning & inform Genl. Potter, that he had better, at once assume all the debts of the Indians, & obligate the Ogden company to pay them, when the treaty was ratified & the Indians removed; & secondly give an obligation to the Chiefs, authenticated in our presence, that a lease for life should be given to every Indian, who desired it, of the lot of land on which he lived, where he could remain, or remove west as he might think best, & at such time as might be agreeable, should he ever conclude to go. That I believed it just & equitable he should do so, & that it would so satisfy the indians, & so entirely remove all the difficulties, which were now in the way, that the treaty

would immediately be assented to, by nearly all the chiefs. This would be liberal, magnanimous, open, fair & proper, in all respects, & that it was for the interest of the Company so to do; as all persons would highly approve of such an honest & generous course. I sent a letter of eight pages to my good wife this evening, to be put into the Buffalo Post Office.

Sunday Morning Sep. 23. It rained most of last night & the heavens were wrapt in clouds this morning at day light but the wind had changed S. W. to N. W. & soon after sun rise it began to clear up, & the western sky to appear. A week ago last thursday, I had an oppression from eating food that disordered my stomach, & my head ached continually for five days; during that period I eat no animal food & took tea & toast for dinner, on the 6th day, I felt relieved & have been right well since the 20th. yesterday after my walk, I felt drowsy & so strong a disposition to sleep that I laid down after twelve & slept until dinner was ready. Again in the afternoon the like inclination to sleep came over me & I slept two hours. I am in perfect health this morning;—never felt better brighter & more in spirit. The drowsiness I attribute to exhaustion & the constant state of activity of mind and unusual excitement, together with the warm weather, & the fasting of nearly a week; and being at leisure all day, as the council did not meet, & it being quiet in & about the house, there was a consciousness of ease & peacefulness of mind & body, which was delightful & wearied nature seemed to seize the occasion, to restore the moral & physical powers of the whole system, by rest & sleep. It was a reaction, & a want which the mind & body claimed, with an imperiousness, which was not to be resisted, any more than hunger or thirst. That this extra sleep & rest was indispensable to recruit the fatigued faculties & members of the body is most evident from the fact that I was inclined to go to bed at an early hour & slept soundly all night; & now I am more refreshed & feel in all respects better than any day since I left home. Thanks to Almighty God for his kind & merciful, protection & support.

Mr. Chamberling of Buffalo called on me this morning

& in giving an account of the contemplated improvements & advantages of that city & Black Rock, for trade, flour mills & manufactories he stated that, Black Rock was laid out as a city; & a company formed which owned over 600 acres of land which fronted on the Niagara river for nearly two miles & extended back, half a mile. It was laid out into lots, which averaged in cost to the company only $112\frac{1}{2}$ cents per foot front & 100 feet deep, being but a little over 1 cent & one mill per square foot. He said that the new flour mill erected by Dunfey & Co. cost 50,000 dollars, & that he had been by & seen barreled up five barrels of flour in $14\frac{1}{2}$ minutes. There are seven run of stones & all the flour is delivered through a spout into the packing room. They had ground 400 barrels in 20 hours. They will clear over 100,000 dollars this year & have commenced building another mill which is to contain eight run of stones. The water power of Black rock is infinitely great.

The water power of Niagara falls has been estimated to be equal to all the other water power & steam power of the U. S. England, Scotland & Ireland. It was gauged by an English gentleman & reduced to horse power & the number were as great as has been above stated. The mills & manufactories & iron works which will be established at Black Rock will be beyond any other example & that in a few years, —not 20 will pass without an astonishing result having been thus produced. It will be an entire dense city & manufacturing region from Buffalo to Tonawanda Creek. The future for that district of country is of mighty & startling promise.

Col Jones brought me in yesterday morning a branch with the ripe fruit on & the root of a plant which is called spike-nard in this part of the country. The root is used for medicinal purposes, & especially as a tonic in drinks, or bitters. I have saved the seeds, taken a number of leaves from the stalk & pressed them, which, with the roots I shall carry home, to ascertain the botanical name. I collected yesterday fore [four] root berries of the tall Craneberry bush & pods of the seeds of a new species of *Æsclopias*, or milk weed.

I wrote the governor a letter of 4 pages yesterday, giving a sketch of the conduct of Heacock in the Council.

This is a striking & veracious remark of the Duches of D'Abrantes: "Prejudice squints when it looks & lies when it talks."

Sep. 24. There has been a real equinoctial gale since saturday afternoon, & it now blows furiously. Much rain has fallen, the thick & dark clouds which fill the atmosphere appear laden with rain, & although now & then there is a clear space of sky in the N. W. the storm does not appear to have ended. Last night, at times, there was a complete gale.

The Duchess D'Abrantes thus eloquently exclaims: "The life of Napoleon may be divided into several periods. To mark his passage upon the earth five trophies, divide his route as landmarks. The *first* formed of a pile of conquered banners several crowns, treaties, keys of towns, & more laurels than ever before Victory had granted to her most favored heroes. The *second* composed of pyramids, sphynxes, & hieroglyphic monuments indicating that his youthful glory had been to awaken the echoes of the Ancient African shores. The Consular fasces marked the third; this emblem, still surmounted by the republican cock, admitted no suspicion that the next column would be formed of sceptres, thrones, & crowns; bearing an escutcheon of imperial blazonry. And what is that which follows? It is a tomb! which has engulfed all; and fixed by hatred in a desert, is visited only by the vassals of England."

Well may we say, how unstable, how transitory are the pleasures, the glories, the honors, the power of man in this world. He can relie on only the moment, for a knowledge of the actual position in which he is—the next may plunge him into irretrievable ruin. He is like the seed in the thistle's down, driven by each passing blast; it sometimes lights, among flowers, or on the sunny border of a grove, where it strikes its root & flourishes for a season or it suddenly is whirled into the air & swept over the depths of the ocean, on whose agitated surface it soon falls, & sinks to rise no more.

The Council did not meet this day as some papers which

were to be read did not arrive from Buffalo; besides arrangements are being made to appease the opposition party, & remove some of their objections to assenting to the treaty.

Saturday evening, I stated to Mr. Gillet, that I believed it was but just & proper, that the preemptioners should assume the just debts, due from the indians to persons, who had trusted them, as it would be in their power to be remunerated, out of the amount to be paid to the heads of families, for the improvements, when they should leave for their new homes in the west; & secondly, that they had better offer, in Council, to the Indians, to give to each person, who did not wish to emigrate, a lease of the lot of land, on which they resided, during their lives. These two measures, I believed, would be satisfactory to the creditors & Indians, & bring the negotiations to a speedy close, in a manner that would be agreeable to all parties. I therefore recommended to Mr. Gillet to send in to Genl. Potter, on Sunday morning, & urge his adopting the course I had suggested; for it was open, fair, & liberal toward the indians & their creditors, & would be creditable to the preemptive company, let the result be what it may. He did send Doct. Wilcock to Buffalo yesterday morning, & I learn, from Mr. Gillet, that Genl. Potter had informed him, this forenoon, that the measures recommended would be adopted, as soon as the necessary papers could be drawn up & that the propositions would probably be made to morrow to the indians & creditors. This was the chief reason for adjourning the council over until to morrow.

Sep 25th. A superb morning & thank God I am excellently well. I received a letter from the Hon Ransom H. Gillet, the U. S. Commissioner yesterday, to which were appended 23 queries in relation to his conduct during the session of the Council, to which I returned answers, this morning in a communication of five pages. I have finished the Duches D'Abrantes & am reading *Essais sur l'histoire De France* par M. Guizot, in two vols. 12mo.

The council met between 12 & one & adjourned at 2. Mr. Gillet directed the interpreter to read the depositions of Orlando Allen & Charles Pierce, a very intelligent & educated

ANTES (LA DUCHESS D'). *Memoires ou Souvenirs Historiques* Napoleon, la Revolution, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration. 18 vols. 8vo, half cloth, uncut. PARIS, 1831.

ANTES (LA DUCHESSE). *Histoire des Salons de Paris. aux et Portraits du Grand Monde sous Louis XVI., le Directoire, le Consulat et l'Empire, la Restauration et le Règne de Louis XVIII.* 6 vols. 8vo, half cloth, uncut. PARIS, 1838.

Indian of Cattaraugus, in which they deny the allegations made by Wilson against Mr. Gillet. They were first in Indian & then in English. He then made a few remarks & observed that to morrow a communication would be made to them, which would be beneficial & he had no doubt acceptable to the Indians & restore harmony among them. The Council adjourned to eleven o'clock to morrow.

Evening. Another calm, clear & beautiful day, & evening. I have taken my forest walk of an hour. I stood still from time to time, perfectly still,—not a sound. I looked up through the lofty tree-tops & not a leaf moved. How awful the silence, how profound the calm, how mellow yet sombre the light, which pervaded the woods & revealed the tall, strait, and majestic trees. It was like the groves of Eden when the first man stood alone in them, & wondered. I listened to hear an Archangel speak, & say behold the glory of God. This is his temple; pay homage to the Almighty; bow with holy reverence in this undefiled vestibule of the true God. He is here & will hear you. Breathe but a mental prayer. & it will reach the throne of the most high.

The duches of D'Abrantes says: "Contemporary Memoirs are galleries adorned on one side with choice portraits & lighted on the other by windows overlooking the past."

September 26. There are black heavy clouds in the east indicating a storm. but the zenith & west are clear. I found from various sources that the propositions which I recommended the preemptioners to make the Indians & their Creditors, have become known to the Chiefs & that they are quite acceptable & will produce harmony & occasion a general assent to the treaty. Such a result is of the utmost consequence to the Indians. the Government & preemptioners, & will be highly gratifying to the citizens of Buffalo, the county & state & most certainly to me, for I am very anxious to have the negociations close amicably & honorably & be able to return home.

The Duches D'Abrantes, observes, in describing a look of Napoleon's, who covered by a smile, a sentiment or feeling of displeasure, "And he laughed that laugh, which laughs not." How expressive, how exactly the idea is em-

bodied. It was wrath concealed beneath the radiant countenance of the beautiful son of Mars, when he turned his admiring eyes on the lovely Psyche.

Guizot makes this striking remark.—announces for the first time a great truth, which all acknowledge, as soon as made known. This is the mark of genius & of a great mind. All the fundamental principles of morals & science are based on a few facts—a few truths, which intelligence proclaims, & they are at once received & become eternal: “France did not enter the career of political liberty, until after having made an immense progress in that of civilization; while in England, a free government was born in the midst of barbarism.” How that truth flashes on the mind.

Sep 27. It rained yesterday afternoon & this is a damp, dark, cloudy morning, with a S. W. wind. I went into Buffalo yesterday afternoon to attend a party at Genl. Burts. I went with Majr. Genl. Macomb & lady. there were four or five other officers of the army & three British officers of a Regiment stationed in Kingston. I came back to the reservation this morning. I met Mr. Sears of Roxbury in the street this morning, on his way to Illinois where he is removing. I was made happy in hearing by him from my dear family, as he saw my good wife the night before he left. It was an accidental & most fortunate meeting as I had received no intelligence from home for some weeks.

The day before yesterday nine steamboats left Buffalo for the ports on the lakes Erie Huron & Michigan, loaded as deep as they could swim with goods & carrying over 1,500 passengers. How this vast west is filling up with population & extending its relations & business with the atlantic. In twenty years Buffalo will contain 100,000 inhabitants!!!! I will note the time, when it comes round & see how near this Yankee guess of mine is to the fact. I think that result will be even sooner.*

There are over 40 steamboats running between Buffalo & the western Lake-ports. I think they will almost entirely take the place of sailing vessels for merchandize & products.

* Twenty-two years later, the Federal census of 1860 gave Buffalo a population of 81,129.

Now there is a large ship, several brigs & some six or eight schooners, unrigged & lying idle in Buffalo harbor; so much preferable do the owners of articles for transportation consider steam-boat conveyance. There will be large tow-boats, as on the hudson which will take a number of others built to convey freight; & if it came on to blow too heavy to risk them alongside they will be veered astern of a cable & on being furnished with anchors left to ride out the gale, well moored, & then taken in tow again.

The council met at one; The opposition chiefs stated that they did not accept the proposition of leases for 10 years. Israel Jimenson gave an account of the number of chiefs & said there were 92. The Commissioner replied that there seemed to be a difference of opinion among the chiefs themselves as to the number; Big-Kettle said there were only 52, others 82 & others 71. He should not attempt to settle the question, but take the last [?list] furnished by the agent & if there was any question about it after the execution of the treaty the president would settle the matter. I was asked to state again what was my opinion as to the mode in which the assent was to be given. I answered, That I considered it necessary that the treaty should be presented in open Council for signatures, & if from any cause, some of the Chiefs chose to sign in the Commissioners room or else[where] that I should be present & see that no coercion was used & that it was their free & voluntary act; but that it was for the president to decide whether such a mode was valid. The Council at the request of Mr. Bennet adjourned to eleven oclock tomorrow, to enable them to confer with some of the old chiefs who were absent from sickness. Mr. Gillet stated, that he expected another proposition would be made to them to morrow which he had recommended & that the whole business of the council would be concluded by saturday. God grant it may for I am weary—my patience is exhausted—I am completely tired out by this long & tedious negocian, with ignorant, stupid, drunken & vagabond men; who we are meeting with & daily advising as if they were “most grave, potent & reverend Senators,” when they are degraded savages who sit & smoke & look grave, as if they

thought, when in fact they are too stupid to comprehend the momentous subject submitted to their consideration. As well might an hundred vagabonds of streets be called into a council to discuss & settle the affairs of the nation;—it is a perfect mockery of negociation. They are incapable of managing their own interests, as the paupers of ours alms houses.

Sep. 28. A dark cloudy morning. The sun has not appeared since the 25th.

Last evening Judge Stryker* the Agent of the Indians, called on me, & observed that he considered the Commissioner had a right under the resolution of the Senate to take the approbation or assent of the Indians, if it was signed to a copy of the treaty any where in the presence of witnesses, & asked my opinion as to the manner. I informed him that I considered it necessary that the treaty should be presented to the Chiefs in open Council, for their assent & that was to be ascertained by the number of signatures put to it, in his & my presence & if from sickness some could not attend, or if from fear of the indians, or other cause, there were others who preferred coming to the Commissioners room & signing the treaty it should be done in my presence to see that it was done freely. I stated that the words of the resolution are that the treaty was to have no force or effect until it "was submitted & fully & fairly explained by the Commissioner of the U. S. to each of the tribes seperately assembled in council & they have given their free & voluntary assent thereto;" That the passage quoted was one sentence undivided by even a semicolon, & that the explanation & assent must be given in council; that in all the treaties ever made with the Indians, this had been the course, & the treaty was now as much a new one as if none had been negociated & all the forms were to be as much observed as in negotiating any treaty; that if any other course was taken I should consider

* James Stryker, appointed First Judge of the Common Pleas in 1837, which position he held until 1841. He was not "agent" for the Indians, as Gen. Dearborn has it, but was a commissioner, appointed by President Jackson to represent the Government in the negotiations for the removal of the Western New York Indians to the West. In his later years Judge Stryker resided in New York City, where he published the *American Register*.

it derogatory to the Commissioner, Agent myself & all the parties concerned; that neither words, spirit or intentions would be complied with if the course he named was pursued, or would the transaction be approved by the President or Senate. That I wished the whole business, as thus far had been the case should be openly honestly & honorably done, so as to bear the most rigid scrutiny & put cavil or complaint at defiance. That I had come here to see that the negotiations were properly conducted & was happy to find thus far such had been the course, as to meet my entire approbation, and that I would not sanction the mode of assent which he thought legal & proper for the whole state of New York, & finally that unless the mode I named was adopted I believed that the Governor & Council would revoke the assent they had given to the Contracts for the sale of the right of possession of the land to the preemptioners.

I told the judge my opinion was not to govern the conduct of the Commissioner & himself. They could act as they thought proper, & it was for the president to decide whether it was correct or not, but I did not believe he would approve the mode of assent which he thought legal & proper & if he did, the Senate would be memorialized by the opposition chiefs & Massachusetts would make such a representation as would occasion investigation & which would result in a resolution that their directions had not been complied with & therefore the treaty was null & void.

I further observed, that I thought the Indians were mad not to agree to the terms of the government; that it was a generous & beneficent offer & if they did not emigrate they would be in an abject, poor & wretched condition & be soon extinct as a nation; but still I wished them [to] act freely & as they thought proper; & that I should not sanction any measure that I did not think lawful, honest & honorable, let the result of the negotiations be whatever they might. It was for the Indians to determine & whether they concluded to go west or remain here however much I should lament, on their account the latter determination, they must freely & voluntarily decide in open Council, or in the presence of the Commissioner & myself; & if any signed in our presence, in

any place other than the council, either at his room or the Indian's house, that was to be left for the president to determine whether it was a sufficient assent or not.

I told the Judge that all our foreign diplomatic practice as well as that with the Indians was the warrant for the opinion I had expressed, & I hoped that the mode pursued here would be such as I could sanction; for that I had no other object than a faithful discharge of my duty, as respects the Indians the preemptioners, the U. S. & Massachusetts; that I was impartial from principle & besides neither the state or myself had any interest in the question other than to see that the Indians were dealt by, honestly & fairly. We had nothing to gain or lose let the result be for or against emigration. I was only anxious that I should so conduct as to have the approbation of my own conscience, & that what I said would bear the most thorough examination, & be not liable to censure, or denunciation, from any, even the slightest dereliction of duty. I did not undertake to dictate what should be done for I had no right so to do, I was a mere spectator, placed here, however, to see that everything was conducted properly, & report the mode of proceeding, & the result, an whether they met with my approbation or not. I was a mere looker on & bound to render a true account of what I saw done.

This morning I had an interview with Mr. Gillet the U. S. Commissioner, who informed me that Judge Stryker had imparted to him the conversation he had with me last evening,—above narrated,—& that he concurred with me in opinion & should pursue the course, which I had considered as the only true & honorable one; & that he should this day lay the treaty before the Indians in Council for the signatures of such as assented to the amendments, & remain until next tuesday afternoon to receive the signatures of those who were sick, by going to their houses, & of such others as chose to come to his room, & that we should be able to go to Lewistown on wednesday morning, hold a treaty with the Tuscaroras & leave for Ogdensburg in the Steamer United States in the afternoon.

This morning I was called into the Commissioners room

to witness the execution of a power of Atty. by John Tall-Chief a Seneca Chief, from Cattaraugus, who stated that he was afraid to sign the treaty in Council, as he had been threatened by the opposition chiefs, with fatal consequences if he did sign it any where, & as he was constantly watched, he came to give a power that he might go home. He had the power explained to him by the Interpreter Strong in our presence & said he free & voluntarily signed the power. Besides the persons named there were present Judge Stryker & George Jimenson a chief residing on this reservation. The power was to Captain Strong, of Cattaraugus.

The Council met at 2, when the treaty was presented for signatures to the assent, after Mr. Gillet had read a letter from Mr. Wadsworth offering to give leases for life to such of the Indians as might wish to remain provided the treaty was ratified. There were sixteen signatures made in Council. Mr. Gillet informed the Chiefs that such as wished to sign might do [so] in his room in my presence & that those who were confined by sickness he should visit to obtain their assent.

Before the council adjourned, I was asked if I would remain after the Commissioner retired & witness a paper which the Chiefs, in opposition, wished to execute in my presence. I replied that I would cheerfully do what had been desired, for I deemed it my duty to comply with any proper request which was made of me, as the Superintendent of Massachusetts.

After the Council was adjourned, a dissent to the treaty, in the form of a declaration, in which it was stated, that they did not wish to sell their lands or remove west, was produced, & signed by 64 persons,—who Morris [Maris] B. Pierce said were chiefs, in my presence, & I signed my name as a witness to the transaction, one of the chiefs, by the name of Little Johnson then rose & thanked me, for the faithful & upright manner, in which I had discharged my duty, that my head was right & that they highly approved of my independent & impartial conduct, as the Superintendent of Massachusetts. I replied that I had endeavored, faithfully to discharge my duty, that I felt a deep interest for their present

& future welfare, and whether they remained here, or emigrated to the west, they had my best wishes my most ardent prayers for their happiness & prosperity & I hoped the Great Spirit would watch over them & have them ever in his holy protection, & that they would conduct in such a manner, as would do honor to themselves, their nation & the character of the whole human family.


I am rejoiced that the negotiation is at last drawing to a close, & that it will end on tuesday next, for it has been the most tedious & least interesting business that I ever performed. To reason with the ignorant, & attempt to do good to the prejudiced, suspicious & most debased of the human species, is laboring without results, either gratifying to us or beneficial to them. Here has been a boon offered, which would depopulate any county in New England & hurry them to the west with glad & grateful hearts; but these miserable savages are incapable of appreciating the generous humanity of the government. The worst of the whole matter, however, is that interested white men, from the mean & selfish motives of self interest, have imposed themselves upon the credulity & stupidity of the Indians & induced them to believe they were their warm, honest, & special friends, & as philanthropists were doing them a great kindness, when in fact they were their worst enemies; for under those specious professions they have concealed the basest & most infamous & mean, low & despicable inducements to action.

Alas! for the poor Indians; their destinies are lamentable. Here they are to become the poor, & most miserable of wretches, the most despised & worthless of the population, the mere slaves of those who are plundering the land & growing rich on their vices & necessities. God protect the once noble race of the Senecas, from the pretended mercies of the villainous white men.

Sep 29. A dark & cloudy morning but mild. I have read within two days the July number of the London Quarterly review. There is an article on Steam Navigation of a superior order. The views there disclosed are calculated to rouse the mind like a revelation from heaven. What a prospect for the future, how glorious for the present. No

one can estimate the rapid & mighty march of nations, & especially in this republic, which the improvements in all the sciences & arts & the roused energies of the people have & are accelerating. The next half century will produce results of grander moment than any which have been accomplished in hundreds of years. *Truth & Utility* are the divinities which now guide the human race, and the most enlightened minds,—the brightest & most active geniuses,—the most enterprising & valorous spirits are all intensely & constantly laboring in harmonious cooperation, to develop the moral & physical resources of nations. The whole world is roused, as if by the trumpet of an arch-angel, into an excitement for improvement, which fills even the chieftains of this grand movement with amazement. On, on, is the universal shout of millions who are rushing forward in the glorious career of all the arts of civilization, of letters, science, freedom, prosperity, wealth, happiness & glory.

There is another clever article on the fine arts in the Quarterly, which I have read with great interest; for it is not a little singular, that I had a long discussion at the dinner table of Mr. Wadsworth of Geneseo as I came on, with Professor Renwick, & on that subject, & four or five other gentlemen. I asserted that the secret of the great success of the Greeks in sculpture, as well as the most eminent painters, poets & writers of all time, was that their productions were true to nature. that they copied living man, & woman & the marks of nature in their statues & paintings & the passions & attributes of the heart & mind—real characters, in what was written. Shakespeare & Scott were as much indebted to the fidelity with which they described real existing objects, whether animate or inanimate, whether men or things,—the peculiarities of character & scenery,—the operations of the intellect & the movements of the whole spirit of the human breast, as were Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, & all the eminent masters in sculpture & painting of ancient and modern. All were true to nature. They relied on truth, fact, and the fidelity of their works in all even the most minute details. I was strenuously opposed in this assumption, but the article I have named, contains extracts from



some of the ablest writers on the fine arts, which maintain the same opinion & the author of the article fully concurs in that opinion. It is in fact the only way in which perfection ever has or can be attained in any work of genius & art. The poet the literator, the artist, & the man of sentiment & talent can only succeed by adhering rigidly to *facts, truth & nature*.

After breakfast, I walked down the shore of Buffalo Creek, & on returning, I discovered an oak, whose acorns, were enclosed in a much thicker & deeper cup or calyx than any other species I had ever seen, & the upper edge of the cup was beautifully fringed, with a moss-like appendage, which curled over, & gave the acorn the appearance of the moss-rose bud. I recollect that such an oak acorn is exhibited, in the plates of Michaux's North American Sylva & is called by him the "over-cup oak." on enquiry, I find this variety is called the swamp white-oak & is near equal for all useful purposes, as the white-oak, but not quite so tough. I have collected 30 acorns to plant in my garden.

Mr O. Allen of Buffalo has given me a sample of very remarkable & excellent bituminous coal from a mountain which is in Ohio & Penn^a, the strata is 5 feet thick & occupies a space of 360 acres. It is found there are 360 bushels to the acre, which would yield, of course 129,600,000 bushels. There is a canal from Erie which will pass within a quarter of a mile of the coal. In the vicinity is inexhaustible deposits of iron ore. When the canal is completed, the coal can be brought & sold at Buffalo for 5 dollars per chaldron. It is very clean resembling the Kennel Coal, & burns with a vivid blaze, leaving a white ashes like those of hickory, & nothing else, as there are no cinders, the whole of the coal being combustible. It makes a superb fire.

I purchased a dozen little silver brooches, of an Indian, for my grand-child.

Guizot, in his Essay on the History of France has dove deep into the ocean of the political & civil condition of nations, as far back as the foundation of the Roman empire & has revealed the weakness & the cause of the decadence &

final ruin of that once mighty government poole. [*So in MS. ?*: "government and people."]

There was no union of the municipal or local rights & power & those of the national. It was a despotism over communities, cities & towns, which were not participants in the general government. The city of Rome was the empire state & nation, & the rest of the vast possessions were treated as conquered places—as innumerable colonies & never embodied in the nation. There was no nationality of feeling, no union of principles, interests & right & when the head was destroyed all the numerous members, became so many distinct people, where there was no love for the Roman empire, no patriotism for the whole combined people, but each had its own local prejudices, feelings customs & laws; & were glad to be independent & no longer subject to a despotic military power, whose seat was Rome. That was the throne & Kingdom. The court & the Nation, & all beyond was so many little states held in subjection by a mighty military force. This no longer is the condition of any European nation—the people are in some form represented, & united as one people. In many of them the people are directly represented. Whereas the Roman empire was made of little, village, town or city republics in which the people ruled, by officers of their own choice, but the whole were subject to the iron sceptre of the sovereign whose palace was the magnificent the "*eternal city*" of Rome. and when that was captured & the legions recalled or disbanded in the colonies & municipalities they became so many nations, a vast number [of] different people speaking different languages & having different laws, customs, habits, occupations & means of support. They had no love or respect for Rome or the name of Romans, & gladly escaped from the exactions & plunderings of the imperial officers & government. This is a correct & yet a new & striking fact, which Mr. Guizot has fully illustrated by historical evidence.

Here is another great truth. He says:—In barbarous as in civilized times, it is *activity*, that *indefatigable activity*, which is desirous of extending its existence in all directions & in every manner,—its name,—its influence—its empire,

that causes a distinguished man to be recognized;—that makes an individual conspicuous & commanding. *Superiority* is an expansive living force, which contains in itself the principle, object & end of its action,—regards the world open before it as its domain, without being accountable to any one, & labors to overrun & seize it, & often without any other necessity, or any design, but that of its development & satisfaction. It acts, it may be said, as a predestined power, which marches, extends its influence, conquers, & subjugates to nourish its natural propensities & fulfill a mission which it does not know or comprehend.”

In passing over this rapidly flourishing country you are constantly reminded of the remarks of Chatteaubriand,—“There is nothing ancient but the forests.” Still one feels a disposition, & a sort of hope & expectation that there is to be discovered some remains of antient nations, some traces of far distant periods of civilization in these fertile & vast regions; but nothing appears. The only traces of a revolution in the condition of the country are the trunks of trees, exposed in the bed of the Buffalo Creek, twelve feet below the surface of the bottom lands, which I have named; and those only indicate a still longer period of the wilderness state, which must have existed for centuries before the geological change which buried the preceding wilderness.

Sunday, September, 30. The heavens are veiled in an apparent thick mist, which the rising sun will dissipate, unless there should be clouds beyond, charged with rain. It is now so dark I can not decide whether this obscurity of the sky is merely thin vapor or not; but it seems to be. It is rather cool. Morris B. Pierce, brought me, yesterday afternoon a copy of the dissent to the treaty, of the opposition Chiefs, which I witnessed in the Council House on the afternoon of the 28th. I shew it to Mr. Gillet who desired to retain it, until he could make a copy. I requested him to ask Judge Stryker to make out for me, a list of all the chiefs, so far as he was able to ascertain the number, & to make a statement of such of the Indians, who signed the dissent, that were not considered chiefs.

I went with the Commissioner & Judge Stryker yester-

day to the house of Stevenson & Captain Pollard, two old chiefs who are sick & confined to their houses, to receive their signatures to the treaty, which they cheerfully gave. I presented Capt. Pollard an extract from Washington's Speech to Cornplanter Big tree & Farmers-Brother in 1790, in relation to the estimation in which they should [? hold] white men, who undertook to advise them against listening to the government agents of the United States & desired him to give it to his nephew Fox who would succeed him as a chief, & who is a very worthy & intelligent young man.

The manners of Captain Pollard, are those of a gentleman of the old school; dignified gentle & mild in his deportment, he took my hand in both of his on our departure & bade me farewell with the grace of feeling of a patriarch. He is eighty years old & bent with the infirmities [of] age.

I have written a report to the Governor this forenoon of 13 pages, giving an account of the whole negotiations, as minutely as possible.

An Indian by the name of How-neshow-a or Shanks, over 90 years of age, arrived here, this forenoon from Cattaraugus, where he resides, distant 30 miles. He came on foot in two days. He is a vigorous intelligent & remarkable man. He has the activity & cheerfulness of persons not over 50. He dined with us & said his friends had been so long absent, to hold a treaty here, that he came to see if they had not taken up their residence, & were making a farm.

I rode up the right bank of Buffalo Creek towards Aurora about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, to what is called the elbow. The bank at that place is at least 60 feet high on the side I was & the opposite is low & covered with a heavy growth of rock maple. The trees on the road are chiefly white oak. There is no bottom land after a mile above the Onondaga Council House. The last piece belongs to Young, who is sober & industrious for an Indian. His wife is a handsome & excellent woman, & dresses richly & with taste in the Indian Costume. The waggon we rode in nearly upset & Mr. Gillet was thrown out, & I barely escaped the same accident. He was not injured. The road was horrible.

Octo. 1. A beautiful morning & magnificent day. I was

up soon after the dawn of day. The morning star alone blazed in the firmament, there was not a cloud & the aurora had quenched all the stars, save that which embellished the eastern sky. I wrote from 6 until 2, & copied & completed a report to the Governor of 23 pages. I sent off a letter to my wife of 12 pages, containing daily remarks for a week. I walked two hours, & got back at dusk. The night is lovely. We have had a continued period of hot weather since the 17th of May, being 138 days. It is unprecedented in my life, & I find no one so old as to recollect such a season.

Octo 2. The dry & delightful weather still continues. God grant we may conclude the negociations this day.

Mr. Strong the Interpreter informed me that he had a conversation with his father Capt. Pollard & Blue-Eyes, in relation to the various treaties which had been held with the Senecas within their recollection. The two latter are chiefs over 50 years of age & the first is 65. Capt. Pollard was present, when the Commissioner Genl. Lincoln Col. Pickering & Govr. Randolph visited the Senecas on this Creek in 1793, & that the Chief, who is represented as speaking in the engraving annexed to Lincoln's Journal in the 5th. Vol. of the 3d Series of the Mass. Historical Collections, was a Mohawk by the name of Flying Sky & a particular friend of Capt. Brant the celebrated Mohawk Chief.

The Indians called Lincoln "*Big-Foot*" & Pickering "*The side-of-a-Hill*"; the former the large size of his feet & the other his remarkable profile. The side of a hill means the *line*, or contour of a steep acclivity, which has bold features.

There was an Indian Dance at the Onondaga Council House, last night & a number of the gentlemen went, but I did not, as I have seen enough of such exhibitions, for the present.

There not having been any frost since the 3d, & one or two nights soon after & they very slight, the foliage has changed but little as yet, still enough to give a subdued aspect to the autumnal scenery. A few white maples appear in the edge of the woods of a brilliant scarlet, & the beeches, have assumed a yellowish brown color, the hickories an

orange, & other trees & shrubs, crimson & red, of various tints.

Buffalo City, Octo 2. Evening. The Council adjourned this afternoon at 4 oclock, to the 15th. of November, unless the Commissioner should be directed to hold it at an earlier or later period. I came into this city this evening, and am to proceed to Lewiston to morrow morning, to hold a treaty with the Tuscarora Indians. I feel like a person who has just been liberated from a prison; for so laborious & protracted have been our deliberations, & the adjournment so often postponed, from day to day, that it seemed as if I were doomed, to the spot, & could not escape from it. Thanks to Almighty God! I have got out of the thralldom, &, at last, am "*Homeward Bound*" & in excellent health. How cheering my hopes.

Doct Trowbridge* called to see me this evening, Genl. Potter, Mr. Wadsworth & other gentlemen. I wrote to Commissioner Everett; this evening I am to write to Doct. H. P. Wilcox Irving, Chattaqua County, New York

The annexed letter was given me, by Mr. Strong, the Interpreter, at my special request, to illustrate the engraving of the Council at Buffalo Creek in 1793. I wished to make it certain who the Chief was that was speaking & it is now certain his name was Flying Sky. Mr. Strong is preparing a long account of the indian negociations & facts of interest, concerning the Six & other nations, obtained from the old chiefs of the Sennecas, who attended the Council which has just adjourned. Capt. Pollard, Blue Eyes & Capt Strong are chiefs of the old school. Correct in their habits, dignified, yet modest in their deportment, with the manners of gentlemen, who had mingled much in society. They are the real patriarchs of their tribe. God bless them.

BUFFALO CREEK Oct. 2^d 1838.

GENL. DEARBORN,

SIR. Capt. Pollard states, that the Council held on the Buffalo Creek 1793, (as mentioned in Genl Lincoln's Journal) In which Genl Lincoln (Otherwise called by the Indians

* Josiah Trowbridge, M. D.

Haw-Seh-daw-das—the English of it is, “Thick Foot”) Col. Pickering, otherwise called Gaw-ne-a-Sa-deh—“*One side of the hill.*”) and Mr. Randolph Commissioner of the United States. The orator mentioned in the journal, and the accompanying Sketch, was a Mohawk Chief, Colleague of Capt Brandts,* by the name of “*Flying Sky*”—Capt Pollard further states, that, at the above mentioned Council, Capt Brandt was at Sandusky or at Detroit, As Brandt came as passenger in the Vessel came down the Lake; after the Commissioners above mentioned—Brandt returned with them & the rest of the Seneca Chiefs up the Lake—

Note. This Statement of Capt Pollard explains why the duty of making Speech to the Commissioners fell upon the Chief *Flying Sky*—had Capt Brandt been present at the Council, he undoubtedly would have made the Speech.

Your friend

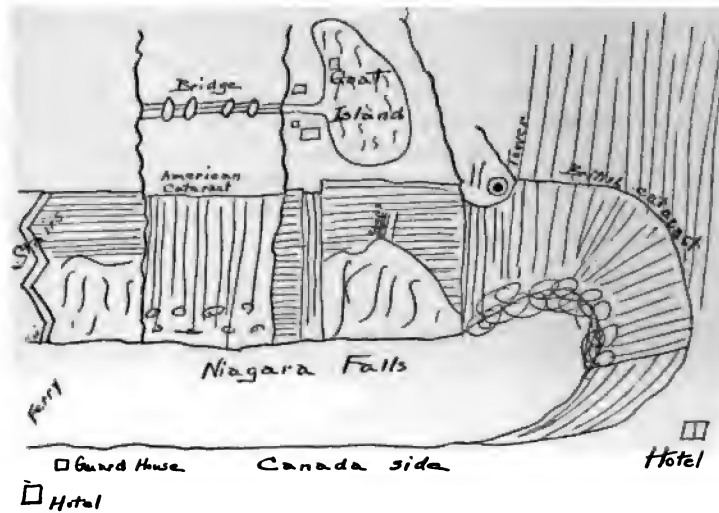
HON-NON-DE-AH

October 3. It was a dark & rainy night, but the sun has come out bright this morning & we shall have a favorable day to descend the Niagara river, in the Red-Jacket Steamer, to the Falls. Breakfasted, in company with Mr. Gillet & Mr. Wadsworth, at Genl. Potter's. I took a walk down to the harbor once more to behold the bustle & activity of this flourishing emporium of the great interior commerce & trade; it is the aquatic Palmira of the United States, between the Mediterraneans of this continent & the Atlantic, where the intercommunicating caravans of navigation, meet & exchange their cargoes, from the Ocean & the mighty rivers & lakes of the west.

Lewiston Octo 3. Afternoon. I left Buffalo, in company with Mr. Gillet, U. S. Commissioner, & Strong the Interpreter this morning at 9 oclock, in the Steamboat Red Jacket,

* Joseph Brant, whose name was usually written “Brandt” until recent years. The writer of this letter, “Hon-non-de-ah,” was Nathaniel T. Strong, a Seneca chief living at Irving, N. Y., and in his later years a corresponding member of the Buffalo Historical Society. We are indebted to him for the most plausible explanation of the way in which Buffalo River received its name. (See Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. I., pp. 38-42.) He died Jan. 4, 1872. The Captain Strong mentioned in the journal, was another man. Some picturesque reminiscences of N. T. Strong are given by Samuel M. Welch in his “Recollections of Buffalo.”

came [to] Fort Scholson [Schlosser]. there took the rail road cars for the Niagara Falls, which we reached at half past eleven. The morning was bright & clear, after a heavy shower during the night, & the scenery was truly beautiful, for autumn had arrayed the forest trees in sumptuous mantles of crimson, scarlet, orange, yellow & brown & all the shades of green, were still conspicuous, which gave to the American & Canadian shores, the enchanting effect. As we



approached the mighty cataract, the eternal cloud which hangs over its awful abyss, announced, the position of that "Hell of Waters." There was a solitary little boat—with a single [person] in it a fishing, anchored within a third of a mile of the terrific rapids. There was not another boat, or vessel of any kind on the vast sheet of water visible from the American bank to that of Chippawa, & as far up the river as the eye extended to the vast tumultuous current, which swept onward, from the first ripple of the rapids until it leaped in one tremendous plunge down the lofty precipice with an earth-quake shock, & the thunders of an equatorial tempest, when Jove launches his most furious bolts from his celestial artillery. I met Meredith Sullivan at the Cataract

Hotel just from St. Lewis via Chicago, We hired a hack & went to Lewiston where we arrived at half past one. We met at the Frontier House Hotel Cusick, Chem, Mount pleasant & Chiefs of the Tuscarora Indians who we had requested to meet us there to conclude a contract with the Ogden Company for the sale of their timber lands.

After dinner we met them in Council, when they stated, that all the other Chiefs were absent, at Lockport & elsewhere when the express arrived the evening before with my letter, & there not being a majority present & none of their warriors, they could not execute the contract. The Commissioners informed them that as the object of the sale was to obtain, in advance three thousand dollars, of the amount which would be due from the Ogden Company, when they removed West, in conformity to the Treaty with the United States, that amount might be procured, by a petition [to] Congress, in anticipation of the sum to be paid them when they should reach their new homes in the Indian territory. I concurred in that opinion, & we recommended that a petition should then be drawn up, for the Ogden Company did not wish the contract executed & they had only agreed to it at their request, for the purpose of supplying them with money to pay off their debts & defray the expense of an exploring company to their land in the west, next spring.

They said that they should prefer the application to Congress & requested Mr. Gillet to prepare a memorial which he did & they signed it in our presence & that of Strong. We also added our earnest recommendation that the favor desired should be granted.

I went where the road from Fort Niagara, enters the main street of Lewiston, & stood on the very spot at that juncture, where I sat on horseback, with my ever beloved & honored father, in July 1813. I was returning home with him from the American camp at Fort George. He was accompanied by several officers & a squadron of horse under the command of Majr S. D. Harris (now Lt. Col.) we halted at that point to look at Queenstown & the Heights where the battle was fought, early in the war & a battery directly opposite. Soon many officers were seen on the parapet & one

of our officers observed to my father, that they had better move up the road to the tavern distant two miles where he intended to pass the night, for the enemy would perceive there were many officers in the group & would soon, in all probability open a fire upon us. My father smiled said it was a long shot & we would take our chance for the few minutes, which were desired to observe the various points of interest, on the opposite shore. He wished to know exactly where our troops landed where the first action was fought where Col. Brock was killed our troops surrendered & all the other interesting incidents of the day. No shots were fired.

I stood on that very spot, where my good father, was beside me, twenty five years ago. How distinctly he was present, in my mind's eye. I heard his voice, saw his calm & dignified face, his noble martial port & veteran look as if he were again there on his superb gray charger. I looked up to heaven, & called upon him to look down upon me, & bless me, to intercede for me with our merciful heavenly parent, & cause my course of life to be prosperous & happy; and to my kind & good mother to unite her affectionate prayers with his in my behalf & that of my dear wife & darling children. O! how sad, how mournful & yet how pleasing to my soul was that moment, when I seemed to meet the spirits of my kind & beloved father & mother; when I saw them & heard their voices & with what a tender & feeling look they gazed upon me. I turned away at last & slowly returned to the hotel, but was too much affected to enter it & went into the garden & there walked until I was collected & consoled. God bless my dear parents, my wife, my children & myself I implore thee.

At seven o'clock we went on board the Steamer United States. The moon was full, the sky cloudless & the air calm & bland. On looking up the river, as the fire-moved Leviathan moved down the majestic Niagara, Brock Monument* stood distinct & alone on the horizontal heights of Queenstown & its symmetrical profile was strikingly visible on the dark blue firmament beyond, & then turning towards

* This was the first monument to General Brock, which stood some distance to the east of the present shaft, and was destroyed by miscreants, April 16, 1840.

Lake Ontario, the Light House in Fort Niagara blazed like a planet, indicating the site of that celebrated mark & the shore of the first great urn of the St Lawrence, while on the left the village near Fort George, was rendered visible by the refulgent moonlight. And soon after the boat came to just below that fortress. Again my dear father was present; it was there I visited him, but a few weeks after the battle, & there I passed ten days with him before we left for home. Again I appealed to him for again I saw him in the midst of his camp of 5,000 men. I saw all the officers take leave of him, when many a hero's eye was moist, for they all honored, respected & loved him. Who that knew him could withhold their veneration & profound esteem. He was a patriot & a soldier, with[out] fear & without reproach. He was in the fullest meaning of the word a great, & good man. May I emulate his noble virtues & may my children & theirs be as worthy of commendation & of a nations gratitude.

Octo. 4. The Lake was as smooth as a river last night & we entered the Genesee at 3 oclock, this morning I got up & walked the deck until we reached the landing, three miles from its mouth, & two & a half from Rochester. We came to at 4, but broke the shaft of one wheel, when half way up the river. I went up to Rochester in a light waggon, with the Steward of the boat. walked about the city & crossed the aqueduct, just as the sun was rising; at seven left in the rail-road cars to return to the landing. What a change, since I was at the Genesee falls in 1813! Then there was a miserable single saw mill & log hut on the west side of the falls & a small one story house just raised & partly boar[d]ed on the east side & now there is a city of 18,000 inhabitants. Never in any age, has human intelligence, industry & enterprise produced such glorious, such wonderful results as in this country since the Revolution.

The river is most enchantingly picturesque, the precipitous banks are from 150 to 200 feet high & covered with trees to the very edge of the water. At the mouth are some eight or ten buildings & a Lt. House. We got under way at eight & are now dashing on through Lake ontario, which has a smooth surface a clear sky & gentle breeze from the west;

but can only use one wheel; still we hope to reach Oswego by dark.

There are 20 steamboats & over 100 schooners on the lake & only one brig. The schooners which can pass the Wellington [Welland] Canal are about 120 tons burden. The Steam Boats begin to run on the first of April & Continue to navigate between all the ports, from Ogdensburg to Lewiston until the 15th. of November, & often later. Genl. Macomb Lady & Aid de Camp are with us bound to Sackets Harbor.

Oswego. Octo. 5. We arrived at this place at 4 yesterday afternoon. I walked over the town & a beautiful flourishing little Lake emporium it is. At the mouth of the river, two break-waters have been erected by the U. S. government at an expense of 100,000 dollars, & now an other vast sum is being expended in the construction of a stone wall surmounted by parapet wall to prevent the sea from breaking over into the harbor. On the end of the western pier is a neat stone Light House. The Erie Canal has a branch which comes to this place. The water [power] however from the rapids is immense; & there are 7 flowering mills, with 41 run of stones that can manufacture 30 barrels of flour a day each, making 1230 barrels per day. There are also two cotton factories, a machine manufactory, a moroco manufactory, ax factory, some mills, a large forge & from 70 to 80 schooners owned in the town.

On the western point of the harbor is a portion of an old French fort, the remainder having been leveled for the purpose of filling up a wharf & making a street & house & stone lots on the site. On the hill a quarter of a mile south westerly from this old military mark is a portion of another erected by Genl. Amherst, when he took Oswego from the French in the war of 63.*

On the eminence at the eastern entrance of the harbor is a large field work with four bastions, which was erected by

* This statement, and the allusion to Montcalm that follows, as the student of our history will discern, are far from accurate. Montcalm captured Oswego in 1756, but the French abandoned the place. Gen. Amherst occupied the point in 1759, prior to his Quebec campaign, but there being no opposition, he can hardly be said to have taken it from the French.

General Amherst, at the time he besieged the french garrison on the opposite point. It had a ditch, & was secured against an escalade by palisades. This important fortification was taken by Montcalm in 176— surrendered to the British after the capture of Quebec by the army of Genl. Wolf. During the last war with Great Britain it was garrisoned with 300 troops under the command of Col. Mitchel, & was attacked by a combined naval & military force, under the command of Sir James Yeo & Genl. Drummond. They landed 2,500 men & after a gallant defence of several hours, the American troops effected their retreat with the loss of about an hundred killed wounded & prisoners. The enemy had 300 killed & wounded. Sir James received a wound in his leg.

Octo 5. Afternoon. Left Oswego at eight o'clock in the morning, for Kingston in the Steamer Great Britain, & arrived at 2 oclock in the afternoon. There was a stiff breeze, but the day was surpassing beautiful, cloudless & warm. I walked over Kingston, visited the new stone barracks in the north-eastern part of the town, where there is a regiment, the 49th, I think, it was called. Opposite Kingston is the navy yard, & on the height which overlooks it a large fort, revetted with stone is being completed, with stone barracks. There is not a single armed vessel on Lake Ontario in the British service, The wrecks of some of the ships belonging to Sir James Yeo's fleet during the last war are to be seen above the water, at the upper end of the naval harbor, & that of the 120 gun ship was pointed out to me. Kingston is situated on a bed of gray limestone, which is but partially covered with earth. I observed in one of the streets leading from the water, the print of a man's foot very distinctly made in one of the flag stones of the side wide [walk] on the north side. It was large & the foot was evidently covered with a mocasin.

The transportation from Montreal to Kingston is by small steam boats up the Rad [blank in original; Rideau] canal; & from Kingston to Montreal by the St Lawrence in steam boats & batteaus. The population of Kingston is [blank in original] It was formerly called Fort Frontenac.

I left Kingston at 4 oclock in the afternoon in the British

Steamer Brockville. There was on board Capt Eckles of the British Army & two other officers. The former was the bearer of an Address to Lord Denham [? Durham], from Niagara, which he was so polite as to show me. He appeared a very well informed & was a very gentlemanly officer; had been in the Peninsular war & from a wound received in that service was obliged to carry his right arm in a sling, of broad black ribband.

In descending the St Lawrence, the boat stoped at Morristown on the American shore & one other little village on the Canadian. The afternoon being calm & the night cloudless, & splendidly lighted up by the full orb'd moon, the scenery of the thousand Islands was wonderfully beautiful & intensely interesting. The islands are from many miles in extent down to a mere dot on which stood a single tree, or a small bunch of shrubs not larger than a basket of flowers. Some being 100 feet high & others rising but just above the surface of the water. The river where it expands into Lake Ontario is some 20 miles wide & gradually diminishes until between Ogdensburg & Prescot it is only a mile & a half in width.

The boat reached Ogdensburg at eleven oclock in the evening where I landed with Mr. Gillet, who resides in that town.

Ogdensburg. October 6. This town is situated on the Oswegatchie, & contains between 2,500 & 3,000 inhabitants. There was a fort on the point on the western side of the entrance into the mouth of the river built by the french during the wars with Great Britain. The wall & chimnies of the stone barracks are still standing. At Prescot is a large stone fortress called Fort Wellington, which was erected during the last war, & is now being repaired. Prescot has a population of 800 to 1000.

I went in company with Mr. Daniel Judson of this place at nine oclock this morning, to the lead mines in the town of Rossie, in Lawrence County distant thirty miles, near the upper end of Black Lake. The mine runs through a granit hill, or ridge, which is about 60 feet above the level of the water courses & is from one to three feet wide. The ore or

galena which is in beautiful crystals of sulphate of lead, is mixed with lime stone, & among it are beautiful rhomboidal crystals which are doubly refractive. I have collected specimens of the granite, lime stone, galena & chrystals. There is 100 tons of pig lead produced by the two companies, which are now working the mines each month. There are two hundred men employed at each. The ore is carted a mile & a half to a stream that falls into Black Lake, where are works for crushing the mineral, washing, separating it from the lime stone & smelting it. The lead is sent to New York, via Black lake Morristown & the St Lawrence and Lake to Oswego & from thence by the canal to Albany.

Mr. Parish has extensive Iron works at Rossie. The ore is obtained within nine miles & brought to Rossie, for smelting & making into pig & pan iron, that being the nearest place where water power can be commanded for the necessary works.

There is a range of lime stone & sand stone mixed which extends from the left bank of the Oswegatchie, near Ogdensburg to the upper end of Black Lake, running parallel thereto, & ending precipitate toward the lake but stoping gradually towards the north. It is exposed naked in many places & there are to be seen grooves cut, as if large stones had been draged over it, some of them a quarter of an inch deep, in parallel lines which run from a little east of north to a little west of south. They are evidently the traces of an immense flood which swept in that direction over this country. There are no organic remains in the lime or sand stone. They are both found in separate beds & used for building, & the former when polished is a greyish marble with white blotches & stripes. They are in layers of from 6 to 10 inches & brake transversely, with quite a smooth surface & make a handsome wall, & a little distance look like hammered stone, as they can be selected of such uniform thickness, as to make regular courses. Many of the dwelling houses & stores are built of it & several churches.

Mr. Van Rensellier [Van Rensselaer], a son of the patroon who resides in Albany, has an elegant seat a mile &

a half above this town, on a height which slopes down to the St Lawrence. He has an extensive garden & green houses.

Ogdensburg, Octo. 7. I did not get back from Rossie until midnight, for it began to rain just as we left the lead mines, at half past four & when we had got on six miles it rained so violently & was so dark we were obliged to stop at a tavern until nearly 8 oclock for the storm to abate & the [moon] to rise, to enable us to keep the road. I have had one of my tremendous headaches all day, & still I have been obliged to write from six oclock until five, to complete the papers with Mr. Gillet connected with the negotiations with the Indians. I have also written a letter to Isaac Ogden Esq.,—who lives 18 miles below on an island in the St Lawrence, where he has a grand farm, in relation to a canal or rail-road from Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. I had a letter of introduction to him from his brother, I. L. Ogden Esq. of New York & intended to have gone down there this afternoon & passed the night, to converse with him on the subject of the proposed line of intercommunication, for the reasons stated in the annexed copy of my letter, & take the steam boat early next morning at a point on the Canada shore directly opposite but the treaty papers, & my headache has prevented me from an excursion, which I had anticipated with pleasure, as Mr. Ogden has one of the best cultivated farms on the river. Annexed is the letter.

OGDENSBURG, Octo. 7. 1838.

DEAR SIR. The enclosed letter, from your highly esteemed brother, I intended to have done myself the honor of delivering in person, this afternoon, & to have asked the favor of being put on the Canada shore, to take the Steam Boat early in the morning, for Montreal;—but a violent headache, to which I am periodically subject, has confined me to the Hotel all day. I regret, extremely, that I have thus been deprived of the pleasure of seeing you, & your celebrated *Island farm*, as well as the opportunity of conversing with you, in relation to the contemplated rail-road or Canal, to Lake Champlain, from this place, in which I feel a deep interest; for if either is constructed, Massa-

chusetts, New Hampshire Vermont & Maine will derive great advantages therefrom. The former state aided by N. Hampshire & Vermont will, in a few years, have either a canal, or rail road from, as high as Newbury, on Connecticut river, down the valley of that river to Springfield, to connect with the rail-road, from thence to Boston, which will be completed next year; & as Vermont has long contemplated, the construction of a Canal or Rail-Road, from Lake Champlain to the Connecticut, not far from Newbury, the trade of the great Lakes will be opened to those states; while Maine will simultaneously construct, either a canal or rail-road from Portland to the Connecticut & become a maritime emporium for the products of the Mighty West, as well as the depot of supply of many of the articles, which are now furnished, to the rapidly increasing population of that vast region, by means of the New York & Pennsylvania Canals & railroads.

A survey will be made next year; I have learned from the citizens of Portland, of a route for a rail-road, from that city to the valley of Connecticut river, & they will be powerfully stimulated to commence its construction, if a line of intercommunication is opened, from the St. Lawrence, near Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. I was not a little astonished to see a waggon load of flour, at Littleton, in New Hampshire, which is situated on the Ammanusick, about fifteen miles west of the notch of the White Mountains, which came from Rochester, via the Erie Canal, the New York Northern Canal, & Lake Champlain, to Burlington in Vermont, & from thence, by land transportation, across that state, to the place above named. The gentleman to whom it belonged, informed me, that—flour was thus brought to that town, & others in the valley of Connecticut river, in New Hampshire & Vermont, cheaper than from Portland, although the distance to the latter city was only ninety miles. If then the facilities, which the proposed lines of transportation will afford, are secured, it is evident that a large portion of those four states, will have a direct & extensive trade with the count[r]y, which is situated on the Lakes & their tribu-

tary rivers, as well as that watered by the Missouri, Illinois & the Mississippi, above St. Lewis

You will do me a great favor, by communicating such information, as you may possess, in relation to the measures which are now being taken, for the purpose of ascertaining the practicability of & the probability of the completion of a canal, or rail-road from Ogdensburg to Lake Champlain. I hope, if practicable, a canal will first be made, for it is now the settled opinion of the ablest Engineers, as well as of the most intelligent & distinguished men who have made it a subject of inquiry, in England, France and this country, that a rail-road is not a sufficient substitute for a canal, however admirably it replaces stage-coaches, & the other old modes of conveyance, for the human family. & the experience of your own state fully justifies & illustrates, the correctness of that opinion. In fact, both lines of intercommunication are indispensable, to subserve the interests of every branch of national industry; & they both must & will be constructed, where either has been completed, or is necessary.

The land on the Canada & American shores is generally very barren, from the near approach of the rock formation to the surface; & in fact being entirely denuded of soil to a very considerable extent. The islands below are generally fertile & there are portions of the main land which are excellent for tillage.

The country is but thinly settled. On the American side the inhabitants are chiefly emigrants from New England; that "*Universal Yankee Nation*," as Mr. Jefferson emphatically distinguished that adventurous enterprising, industrious & emigrating, navigating, trading & wandering people. They are to be seen as the pioneers all over the Union, or wherever there is any business to be transacted, or work done that promises favorable results. Their intelligence, knowledge, of the mechanical arts, manufactures, navigation, trade & commercial affairs, is perceivable all over the country; for wherever there is any labor or business done which requires energy & untiring industry there they are sure to be found, even in Canada.

October 8. I left Ogdensburg last evening at half past 7 with Mr. Gillet in the Steam-boat, crossed over to Prescott, on the Canada shore, where freight & passengers were taken on board & got under way down the St Lawrence at 8. Passed a strong rapid at 9 distant 12 miles from Ogdensburg & at ten the De Plot* rapid, in which the water is thrown into foaming waves; reach Dickenson's Landing at eleven, where we remained until seven. The village of Waddington on the American shore, 18 miles below Ogdensburg, was conspicuous, in the moon light, & from the blazing chimney of a furnace which wast[?]. Opposite Waddington is Ogden's island containing 900 acres of the best land in the northern part of New York & Mr. Ogden has on it the best cultivated farm. He has built a bridge from his island to the main land a quarter of a mile in length, & obtained a vast water power by throwing a dam across the rapid, where he has a large flour mill. There are in Waddington, besides the furnace & flour mill several saw mills, cording & fulling mills, a grist-mill & other machinery. It is a flourishing town.

Dickensons Landing, October 8. I got up at 4. The day was just slightly illuming the north eastern horizon but the moon, planets & stars, spangled the blue vault of heaven like burnished flakes of silver. A profound calm & stillness rested over all the works of nature, save the murmur sent up by the furious "long rapids" just below, where we were moored. Took stages at seven for Cornwall, where we arrived at half past 8; distance 12 miles.

There is a ship canal being constructed on the Canada shore past the Long Sault, which is nearly completed. It is eleven miles long, ten feet deep, 100 feet wide at the bottom & 140 at the top. The locks are 180 feet long & 55 feet wide. There are six lift locks, which overcome an elevation of 40 feet. They are admirable works of masonry, being constructed of a black compact marble which is obtained from a quarry within three miles of the canal.

The locks are all finished & most of the enormous gates are made and hung. They have been constructed by an

* Rapid Deplau, below Waddington.

American. This important work has been executed by the government of Upper Canada, & has cost 1,500,000 dollars & will require 150,000 dollars more to complete it; but owing to the depressed & agitated condition of the country the labor has been suspended, save the work now being done on the Lock gates, & a few men employed in the excavation. The money was chiefly borrowed in England at 6 per cent redeemable in 1850. The excavation is through earth, entirely, composed of loam clay & sand. The canal runs on the immediate margin of the St Lawrence & has been constructed by removing the earth, for the bed of the canal & forming an embankment on the margin of the river.

We entered the Steam boat Henry Brougham at Cornwall & passed down to Coteau Du Lac, distance 41 miles, there we took stages to the cascades & then entered the Steam Boat Dolphin, for Lachine, which is 24 miles, & again landed & passed on to Montreal in stages, which is 9 miles from Lachine.

The land is excellent all the way from near Ogdensburg to Montreal, on both sides of the St. Lawrence, & on all the islands, but the villages & houses are miserable & the tillage but little attended to on the Canadian shore. The houses are log or timber, & very small & badly constructed. The population poor, ignorant & in a wretched condition. The information, in relation to the Canal I obtained from Mr. Harvey, who has been a contractor for making the excavations. He came with us from Prescott to Cornwall. The banks of the St Lawrence are not more than from 10 to 20 feet above the water & the land is generally level, or undulating into gently elevated hills. The soil until within some 20 miles of Montreal is a black sandy loam, & for the remaining distance clay loam & sand.

The mountain region which extends from near the northern end of Lake Champlain, in a south westerly direction made a grand back scape to the scenery from Cornwall to Montreal. The summits are rounded, or present long lines, of horizontal & undulating, contours, with now & then a conical profile. They were bathed in a mellow blewish haze.

Mr. Gillet landed at the St Regis Indian village between

Cornwall & Coteau Du Lac, to conclude a treaty with that tribe. He gave me a sample of copper ore—the sulphate, from a mine in Canton about 20 miles N. E. from Ogdensburg. The mine is reported to be extensive & prolific. Capt. Laing of the British Army & Mr. Griffin, the Supervisor of the Post offices in Lower Canada and Mr. Rombuck brother of the great agitator (his wife and Mr. Cadinou's of Boston are sisters) came down from Prescott in company & I found them both intelligent & agreeable gentlemen. The former was on the north western frontier under Genl. Proctor during the last war. He was also in Lord Wellington's army in Spain Portugal & France.


He informed me that a council of war was held by Proctor, to decide whether the army should oppose the landing of the troops under Genl Harrison, or fall back to the Moravian village & that Tecumsah was decidedly opposed to abandoning their position. He was indignant at the proposition & declared to Proctor that, if he retreated, the Indians, amounting to 3,000 would consider themselves as abandoned, & all leave his camp; if he really intended to fight that was the most commanding position. Proctor replied that he did not intend to retreat but merely fall back to a position which he could defend & be in connection with his depot of provisions & the other wing of the army in Upper Canada; & by great persuasion he at last induced Tecumsah to remain, but all the indians returned to their several settlements on the upper lakes, but about 500.

Proctor did not intend to engage Harrison, but so maneuver as to reach the division of the army at the head of Huntington Bay, on Lake Ontario. To effect that object he moved to the Moravian village, & there very improperly remained for three days, when he might have advanced so rapidly east that Genl. Harrison could not have overtaken him; in fact the latter had abandoned the idea of pursuit, until he heard of Proctor's halt & then determined to attempt [to] bring him to action. Capt. La[i]ng was in the Grenadiers & posted on the extreme left near the bank of the river Thames, & on his right were the indians under the command of Tecumsah. The charge of the mounted Riflemen under Col. Johnson decided the action.

After the surrender of the British troops Capt. Laing requested permission to go into the woods, to find a brother officer,—the present Col. [blank in original] Adj't Genl. of the army & now stationed at Toronto, who [he] heard was wounded & left on the ground. Four soldiers of the American army went with him but his search was unsuccessful as his fellow officer had not fallen. On returning he discovered an Indian laying on the ground dead, who he instantly recognized as Tecumsah & exclaimed, God there is poor Tecumsah slain. When he got back to camp, he informed Genl. Harrison of Tecumsah's death, who instantly replied, I will immediately send out & have him brought in & buried with military honor, for he was a brave & noble fellow whose character & heroic conduct I honor. The news however, had been spread through the camp by the soldiers who accompanied Capt. La[i]ng & a number had gone out [and] disgracefully mangled the body of the gallant Indian Chieftain before those sent by Genl. Harrison reached the place. The body was nevertheless brought to camp & interred with all that respect which is ever due to a brave man who falls in battle.

Capt. Laing was in the action in which Dudley was defeated; He stated that the American officers & soldiers who were made prisoners, in the action were placed in a sort of hollow or dell near the Miami river, & sentinels placed over them, to protect them from the Indians; but that the Potawatamies Wyandots & other distant tribes who were not in the action & thirsted for blood rushed upon the sentinels slew two of them with their tomahawks & commenced an indiscriminate murder of the prisoners, when Tecumsah rushed to the spot & checked the barbarians in their hellish exploit. He informed the cowardly rascals if they had been his Indians he would have put to death every one who had been concerned in such an infamous transaction.

Capt. Laing also informed me that he was in the attack on Fort Sandusky which Crochgan [Croghan] defended so gallantly. That Genl. Proctor having been foiled in his movement for [blank in original] he concluded to make a dash on the fort of Sandusky before returning to give some



eclat to his expedition, but that he was entirely ignorant of the character of the work, & did not even send to have a reconnaissance made before ordering it to be taken by assault. There was a ditch on three sides, which was not discovered until the British troops were close to him. They wound in column toward the face at right angles with the river, the right being destined to storm the low curtain, the centre the longest & the left the other end. As the column moved passed it [was] assailed by a well directed & rapid fire, for there were muskets enough in the garrison to furnish each soldier with four & all being loaded, they were all discharged in quick succession. The left leaped into the ditch as well to escape the fire of the musketry as to attempt to enter the works, & when it was completely filled a masked gun concealed by a kind of gun port, was brought to bear near the bottom of the ditch & the first fire was so destructive that several officers were killed & about 40 soldiers were either killed or wounded.

Capt Laing was kept as a hostage on whom to retaliate, in the event any of the American officers were executed as had been threatened. He was confined for many months in the Penitentiary of Frankfort Kentucky, & came very near dying of a violent fever which his unpleasant situation produced.

Montreal. Tuesday, Octo. 9. I arrived here last evening at 9 oclock. I found from the earnest conversation of the Canadian passengers on my way from Kingston, that there was great excitement, in relation to the conduct of Brogham [Brougham] & the Ministry towards Lord Durham, & that so uneasy & alarmed were the people generally, from the apprehension of a rebellion, in some parts of the provinces, and incursions of American partizans along the whole length of the frontier, as well as the ill consequences to the Canadas if Lord Durham should return to England as he had declared he would, in consequence of the attack made upon him by Lord Brogham, & the shameful manner in which Lord Melburn [Melbourne] & the other ministers had allowed him to be assailed, without the least effort being made to defend him. Addresses have been sent to Lord

Durham within the last week from Quebec, Montreal, Kingston, Toronto & all the other towns in both Canadas urging him not to leave the country, & it is now reported that he certainly will not before January if he does then; As the peculiarly constructed boats, which are used to navigate the St Lawrence the river & Rondeau [Rideau] canal are called Durham, the following punning toast occurred to me as we were towing one from the Cascades to Lachine last evening:

"The newly launched Durham Boat:—It is too substantial & ponderous, to be swept from its direct & triumphant course amidst the conflicting currents of Canada by the impotent flourish of a *Broom*, however successfully that *instrument*, may some times be employed, to raise such a *dust* in the House of Lords, as to bewilder even a *Prime Minister*."

The name of Lord *Brogham* is pronounced *Broom*, & Lord Melborn the prime minister, was so fearful that the bill introduced by Lord Brogham nullifying & denouncing the Ordinance of Lord Durham, in relation to the persons who had been arrested as rebels, that he informed the Lords the next day the ministry had determined to recommend to the Queen, the propriety of her Majesty's declaring the ordinance unauthorized. What a contemptible act to save themselves, they have sacrificed Lord Durham; who has been one of the ablest of the whig party & who has been a special advisor & friend of the Queen mother & Victoria. Mean & cowardly wretches.

Montreal. Evening of Octo. 9. 11 oclock I have just completed my report & all the papers illustrative thereof which are 22 in number & make 73 pages of my own writing & 61 of copies of affidavits letters &c. &c. &c. amounting to 134 pages. Thanks to Almighty God the care, anxiety, & labor of my duty are now all ended.

I rode round the mountain this forenoon with Captain Laing, & the views from the various elevations & sides of that wooded eminence are truly grand & beautiful. I have never beheld such magnificent scenery. The vast region for at least 60 miles in diameter is one vast tract of rich soil, sprinkled with villages farm houses, woods, & sheets of

water which the mighty St Lawrence & its island divided channel presents. I went into the new Cathedral*. It is of granite & a pure specimen of the gothic order of architecture. It is a huge edifice Visited the sisters of Charity's establishment, which is a kind of male & female hospital. The nuns were tending the sick & some were in a yard cleaning a large stove pipe. walked along the wharves & quays. They are of granite & are being completed the whole front of the city. There were seven steam Boats in port & several brigs. I walked to the Champs de Mars & saw a parade of the troops. I was introduced to Col. Guly [?] & Doct Jackson of the army, & the former called on me & then came & waited upon me to the dinner table at 6 o'clock. I have rode & walked all over the city.

The uniforms of the different regiments of the troops in the British army are varied by the colour of the collars & cuffs, they being blue white green &c. & the pompons of like color. The Grenadier company of the Royals, instead of a leather or Jappaned cap, have one made like the other companies entirely of bear skin, without any visor, there is & white Pompon & tassels, of worsted. [Crude sketch omitted.]

The farms & land round Montreal is not well tilled & the houses are small & rudely [built] of rough stone or timber & white washed occasionally. some are framed & boarded & shingled. There are orchards of good fruit & plum trees. With good farmers & gardeners the surrounding country would be very productive & have a beautiful appearance. There are a [? few] very fine handsome country seats; but I did not observe but four or five which had a neat & tasty appearance.

The market is abundently supplied with meats poultry, vegetables, game fish & such fruits as will grow here. It is the best in Canada.

Montreal October 10. Yesterday, was cloudy, cold & uncomfortable, with a raw north west wind. It was the first real autumnal day we have had. It is, however milder

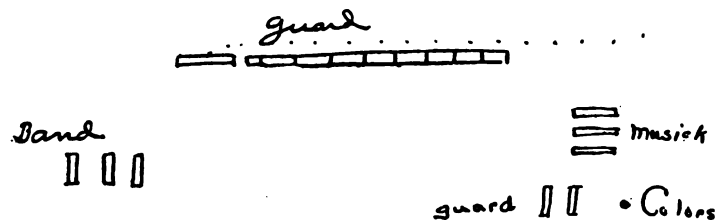
* Gen. Dearborn evidently made the common tourists' error of regarding Notre Dame parish church as a cathedral.

this morning & the sun is struggling to dissipate the clouds. It promises a pleasant day. I do Hope that there will be no cold rain storm before I reach my dear home, & wife & children. I met Mr. Featherstehaw* this morning in the Hotel. He came to my room & informed me he had been to the coast of Labrador & was just from Quebec. He has given up his office of Geologist of the topographical corps, in consequence of inattention or coldness towards him by the government, because he is not of the same politics & a violent partizan of the President Lt. Magruder in the Artillery of the U. S. army called on me this morning. He is from Plattsburg where he is stationed. I attended the Grand parade of the 1st. Royal Regiment of Infantry this morning, in the Champs de Mars. It is commanded by Lt. Col. Wetherell & the next officer in rank is Majr Bell. I have never seen any corps of troops, in such perfect order in all respects, dress, discipline & conduct under arms. Their manual & movements were so harmonious, that they seemed to be actuated by one mind. The uniform is faced with blue, pantaloons oxford gray. The flank company is a beautiful corps of Grenadiers with the bearskin cap before described. The band consisted of 20 members. Uniform long white coats, with blue collars & cuffs, blue worsted epulets with gilt crescents. sword with brass scabbard & black belts. There were besides twelve drummers & fifers, the seams of whose coats were covered with party coloured red & white worsted binding $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide; the drummers had long Leopard skin aprons, which came down to the ankles, to protect their clothes from the drums, which were brass.

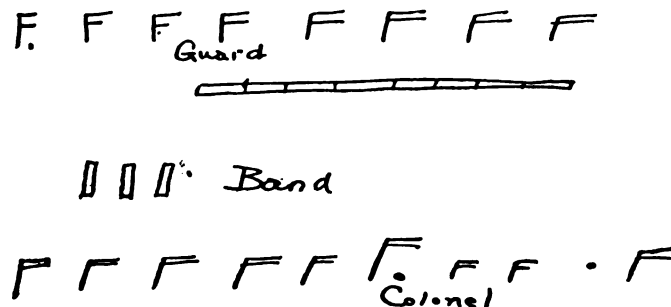
The Col. on receiving the salutes swavely touched the visor of his cap with his finger when the standing salute was given & as each officer passed. The music wheeled out in front of the collors & played until the rear passed. When the line wheeled into column they came to the right about,

* This was evidently the English traveler George William Featherstonhaugh, who had made geological surveys in the Western United States for the War Department, 1834-35, and was a commissioner for Great Britain to determine the northwestern boundary between the United States and Canada, under the Ashburton-Webster treaty. He was the author of numerous reports, and narratives of travel.

wheeled to the right, then faced about, on the word march being given, the whole column stepped at the same moment, & came round into line without gaining or losing distance. The guard of the day came onto the parade in front & formed in line on the right. When the salutes were over the musick passed down in front & back, the guard then marched with the band, to the left, where the regimental colors were, held by an officer & color guard, half way between the line of the Col. & Regiment. The officer of the guard received them, when the guard & music marched down to the left, the latter passed in the rear up to the right & took post in line, while the band & the officer with the colours, passed up the front between the line of officers & rank & file; the officer with the color took post in the middle of the guard and the musick formed in front facing to the left of the line. This is the position of the guard when receiving the colors. [when going for the colors:]



Position of the troops when the guard had returned into line:



THE DEARBORN JOURNALS.

morning & the sun is struggling to dissipate the clouds. I do hope that there will be no rain storm before I reach my dear home, & wife & children. I met Mr. Featherstonhew* this morning in the hotel. He came to my room & informed me he had been to the coast of Labrador & was just from Quebec. He has given up his office of Geologist of the topographical corps, in consequence of inattention or coldness towards him by the government, because he is not of the same politics & a violent partizan of the President Lt. Magruder in the Artillery of the U. S. army called on me this morning. He is from Plattsburg where he is stationed. I attended the Grand parade of the 1st. Royal Regiment of Infantry this morning, in the Champs de Mars. It is commanded by Lt. Col. Wetherell & the next officer in rank is Majr Bell. I have never seen any corps of troops, in such perfect order in all respects, dress, discipline & conduct under arms. Their manual & movements were so harmonious, that they seemed to be actuated by one mind. The flank company is a beautiful corps of Grenadiers with the bearskin cap before described. The band consisted of 20 members. Uniform long white coats, with blue collars & cuffs, blue worsted epulets with gilt crescents. sword with party coloured black belts. There were besides twelve drummers & fifers, the seams of whose coats were covered with party coloured red & white worsted binding $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch wide; drummers had long Leopard skin aprons, which came to the ankles, to protect their clothes from the drums, & visor of his cap with his finger when the standing salute was given & as each officer passed. The music wheeled out in front of the collors & played until the rear passed the line wheeled into column they came to the

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When the troops marched off the parade to the regimental barracks the guard remained until the other companies had passed & then fell into the rear. The Major marched off the regiment. The men were so perfectly sized in the platoon that they appeared of an exact height & so when all were in line, I was astonished at the precision & beauty of the movements & the surpassing excellence of the whole parade. I went up to the Col. after the parade & expressed my great gratification at the interesting spectacle I had witnessed. Nothing can be more perfect in military discipline.

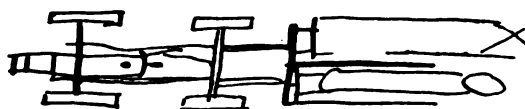
After leaving the Champs de Mars I went with Capt Laing & Lt. Magruder of our army to the barracks & was politely shown all over them by Major Bell. The bedsteads are wrought iron & only one man sleeps upon each. They fold up & contain the bedding during the day.

The men each keep a little book containing their account with the government, for pay & supplies of clothing &c. one of which Major Bell gave me. The men are paid daily in pence, as it amounts after all deductions to only five pence. I bought of the company paying Sergeant a number & also half pence.

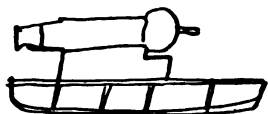
I also visited the stable & park of Royal Artillery. Under the guidance of Lt. Wadehouse the whole were in excellent order. There are four six pounders & four caissons on waggons, as the English call them, a forge, & baggage Wagon to each Battery, or company, which consists of 80 men; four ride on each gun carriage & caisson making 32, & there is one mounted on each of the rear of the two pair of horses to each gun waggon & making 20, so that 52 ride. The servants artificers &c. make up the remainder.

They have two little mortars of 8 or 9 inch caliber mounted on a wooden bed, which is transported in a little cart, & can be taken out & put on the ground to be used in any position desired. The cart is drawn by one horse.

The harness of the field carriages & the waggons are provided with shafts on one side, in which the off horse is harnessed, & the near one is connected to the same cross bar by a whiffle-tree thus:



There were sleds for the guns to be mounted on in winter, made thus:

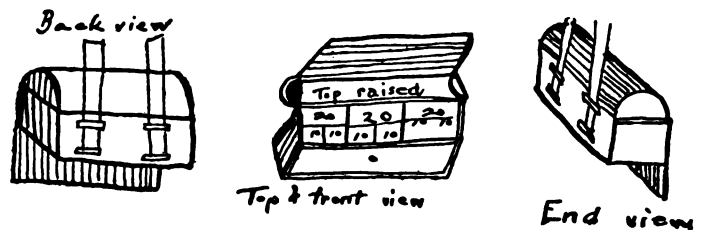


The carriages for the guns were like ours save the shafts being substituted for a pole. The wheels all of a height. The artificers to each battery are so well taught that they can make wheels & all the parts of the various carriages, & repair or replace all defects. They also shoe the horses & repair the harness.

The regiments of each army have also tailors & shoemakers who repair or make all the clothes & shoes. The clothing comes out ready made but is new fitted to each soldier. The shoes cost 2.25 cents a pair & are sewed over again, or rather newly made up in a more substantial form there is a female school for girls & a man's for boys in each company, where the children are daily taught. There are six women—wives of soldiers—to a company, & one of these is the school mistress. The master is also a soldier. I went into the school rooms & all the mechanics & artists shops. The clothing is received fitted & delivered to the troops by the quarter master, of the Regiment. There is an arm chest, & clothing chest for each company. Each musket has the name & number of the soldier to whom it belongs, as have every other article including the clothing.

Each soldier is obliged to have his kit complete,—a term which includes all his articles of dress. They are inspected weekly & all deficiencies must be supplied, & deducted from the pay which is about 14 cents per day. The cartridge boxes are leather Japanned & have a tin box divided into three

compartments, in which the cartridges are put in paper bundles of 20 each making 60 rounds & the name & number of the soldier is put on each bundle. Just as they are going into action the bundles are undone & the cartridges thrown loose into the tin box. There is an under cover of leather to effectually keep out the wet. This is the form of the cartridge box.



By long experience, during the wars for the last 40 years, it is found that it is much the best mode to have tin canisters or boxes, in the above described cartridge boxes, instead of blocks of wood with a receptacle for each cartridge. The cartridges are more easily got at & they are less likely to be broken, in taking them out in action, & besides 60 can be carried in a smaller compass than 48 in the old mode, or even 24.

Montreal Octo. 11. A dark rainy morning. I leave for Burlington at 9. I had a severe headache last evening but am right well after a good sleep of 7 hours, having gone to bed at 10 & got up at 5.

The streets are very narrow in this city. They are paved & the side walks are of lime stone flagging. The houses generally of stone & most of them have an antiquated appearance & a style of construction which gives the place the appearance of an old french or Spanish, or German town. The buildings are generally covered with tin. There are some very beautiful modern stone stores, houses & other edifices, Bingham's house is elegant having an dome portico. It is very large & has been fitted up for the winter residence of Lord Durham, who has concluded to return on the 20th. of this month to England. Sir John Colburn [Colborne] has

been appointed to assume his high duties, as Governor General.

The French Canadian population are much excited & evince a great hostility to the English. I was in an apothecary's shop yesterday & he stated that an Englishman was the day before passing through a village about 20 miles distant & it being ascertained of what nation he was the people assembled pelted him & followed him some distance & he only escaped by the fleetness of his horse from fatal consequences.

It is reported that important intelligence has been received from Genl Macomb of some combinations for hostile movements. Lt. Magruder informed me yesterday that with[in] two weeks some 300 Canadians had appeared in Plattsburg & a large number in Burlington. Two more Regiments are on their way here from Halifax. The officers I find are apprehensive of difficulty in the winter.

I left Montreal at 9 o'clock this morning in a Steamer for La Prairie; a small village above Montreal on the right bank of the St. Lawrence, & distant nine miles. There is a rail-road from thence to St. Johns, & I reached there at 12. Distance 14 miles after an early dinner, took passage in the Steam-Boat Winooski for Burlington, touched at Isle au Noix, 10 miles from St. Johns, where there is a large fort with four bastions, & it is garrisoned with a considerable number of troops; stoped a few minutes at Champlain 15 miles where there is one company of U. S. troops. From [there] to Plattsburg is 25 miles, & thence 25 to Burlington where I arrived at 9 o'clock in the evening.

Mr. Featherstehaw came with me but went on to White Hall. It has rained all day. The whole country from the St Lawrence to Champlain is a dead level & elevated but 10 or 12 feet above the river. The soil rests on friable slate & is argilacious. The population is french & the houses are small & mean, generally timber or logs, although some are stone. There is no appearance of thrift, enterprise or intelligence.

Mr. Featherstehaw informed me that in his tour to the Labrador coast he went up the Sagunany [Saguenay] river ninety miles, it comes into the St Lawrence on the left side

120 miles below Quebec, & is remarkable for the depth of its water being much greater than the St. Lawrence. At its mouth the latter is only 40 fathoms, or 240 feet while the former is 450, at the falls 90 miles from its mouth 540 & half way from the falls to the St. Lawrence 840. Mr. Featherstehaw is of the opinion it was a lake & ultimately broke through the lofty stone barrier into the St Lawrence. He stated there was a mountain of iron ore about 70 miles below Quebec like that in Missouri, which is so remarkable, but much more lofty & of a larger base, the height being 1500 feet, & its base many miles. He found the same bed of lime stone out cropping near the mouth of the St Lawrence which he had examined in Georgia. It has precisely the same organic remains.

He has been passing considerable time at Quebec & been very intimate with Lord Durham. The latter leaves Canada on the 31st of October & will pass into the U. S. by this route to New York, from thence to Boston & return to N. York & go as far south as Washing.[ton] from whence he will embark in a frigate for England, or return to N. York & sail from that city in a frigate, which is now at Quebec. He will have seven persons in his suit,—his wife two daughters son, Secretary & phisician, besides four or five servants.

It seems that Ld. Melbourn the prime minister got Lord Durham appointed Governor General to prevent his being the rival of the former, who was fearful of being surplanted, by him, & he only consented to accept the office on the special request of the Queen, with whom he is a favorite, for he was the particular friend & advisor of Her father, the Duke of Kent, & ever since his death has been of her mother. Mr. Featherstehaw has no doubt of Lord Melbourn being removed & Lord Durham appointed Prime Minister.

The persons who were banished to Burnuda, had appealed to Lord Durham, and requested as a great favor that he would banish them, instead of bringing them to trial, & they having confessed their guilt, were sent out of the country as an act of mercy. His Lordship is 46 years old & his eldest daughter 17, the son seven & the other daughter of an intermediate age. He despises O'Connel & will not allow

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him to be considered as one of his party if the Queen elevates him to the premiership. I was glad to hear it for that Irish demagogue is an unprincipled & worthless black guard rascal, & a disgrace to his country & parliament.

Mr. Featherstehaw informed me that he had resigned his station, as national Geologist, in consequence of the cold & neglectful manner in which his services were treated & the utter abandonment of the whole plan of operations, which the Secretary of War had agreed to sanction. In fact he feared that Van Buren wished him out of the way to make room for a political partizan. He is going to England with Lord Durham & is now passing over the route his lordship is to take, for the purpose of engaging lodgings, as far as Washington & will return to meet him in Troy on the 2d. of November & travel with him. Mr. Featherstehaw intends to publish a work on the Geology of the U. S. in England & then go to Mexico from whence, he will cross over to California to explore the geology of that vast region. He is in hopes of inducing Audubon to accompany him. The contemplated exploration, he expects will take two years.

He gave the following cause of the visit of John Van Buren to England. There was an English gentleman, who came to the state of New York many years since, by the name of Clark, whose father was Governor of that state before the Revolution & owned a large tract of land therein, which he came out to sell, and manage to the best advantage. He had a wife & children in England & a large estate there which he inherited; but did not live happily with his wife & never returned. He became acquainted with a Mrs. Cooper, wife of a brother of the novelist of that name, at Cooperstown, where he resided part of the year & the rest of the time, for several years in Albany. The husband was a low, drunken, worthless fellow, & Clark became so much attached & she being a [——] he had a child by her during the life time of her husband, but he dying soon after Clark married the widow * * * by whom he had several children, during the life of his wife in England. He built a superb house at Cooperstown & on his death left the whole of his estate in New York to his children born of & after his

marriage with Mrs. Cooper, & the property in England to his legitimate wife. To the son born during the life time of Cooper, whose name he got changed to Clark by an act of the Legislature, he left an income, to be paid out of the American state [estate] of 5,000 dollars a year & as much more from that in England. The income from the American estate is from 60 to 70,000 dollars per annum. Clark died two years since & the heirs by his English wife refuse to pay the annuity of 5000 dollars which was given by the will & John Van Buren has gone to England with young Clark to endeavor to recover it, & is to have a large portion of it if successful. The giving out, that he had gone to attend the coronation was for eclat that ceremony having taken place at the time of his professional visit—for he is a lawyer in Albany—it was more imposing & creditable, being a President's son to have the prestige of such an excursion.

Capt. Laing called before I left this morning to take leave. He has paid the most kind & constant attention to me, during my visit to Montreal & I am under the greatest obligations. I gave him the toast I made on Lord Durham, this morning just before I went on board the steam-boat.

I found a gentleman on board the Steam Boat from St Johns, who informed me that Florida White had visited the Baroness La Moine de Longueuil, who owns four seignories on the St Lawrence of more than 400 square miles, extending above & below Montreal, & over to St Johns. She lives about nine miles below that city. Col. White has just returned from Europe & has ascertained, from his knowledge of real estates in Louisiana, & facts he ascertained in France that the above named lady, or some other branch of that family, is the heir to a vast tract of land in Louisiana, which is worth several millions of dollars. This gentleman was intimate in the family & had been there the day before, & was informed Col. White had gone up the river about twenty miles above Montreal to visit some gentlemen & would be on his way back to New York in the Boat with us; he also informed me that he should return to Montreal in season to be my companion.

This gentleman, whose name I did not inquire, stated

that her first husband died when she was young & that she then married Capt Grant an Englishman. She is now 80 years of age. During the revolution her last husband went into the U. States towards Boston with a party of Indians & never was afterwards heard of or the Indians. Every possible inquiry was made, as to their fate, but not the least intelligence has been obtained to this day.

I have traveled since I left home many miles :

From Boston to Albany	420
From Albany to Buffalo	360
From Geneseo to the falls of Nunda, in Portageville & back . .	50
To Niagara falls	20
To Niagara city on the Canada side & Waterloo opposite Black Rock	25
To Niagara falls & Tuscarora Indians	54
To Buffalo creek Council house from Buffalo & back 6 times .	36
On the reservation	20
From Buffalo creek to Lewiston	33
“ Lewiston to Rochester	87
Oswego	60
Kingston	50
Kingston to Ogdensburg	60
Lead mines at Rossie & back	60
Montreal	140
Burlington	108
	<hr/>
	1573
From Burlington to Boston	282
	<hr/>
Total distance when I reach home	1855

Burlington Vermont Octo 12. The rain storm continued until late last night & the wind blew furiously from eleven until this morning & now it is cloudy & dark with a strong westerly wind. I sat up writing & reading until one & was at my table with my pen at half past five. I shaved by candle light & made a fire in the stove of my parlor, by the means of the dry wood which fortunately was brought up last evening, a newspaper, & the lamp I burned all night. I am to leave in the stage this day for Montpelier, at one o'clock. This is a handsome town, containing about 4,000 inhabitants many neat houses. The land rises rather precipi-

tously from the lake. The mountains on the New York shore of the lake give an Alpine aspect to that distant scenery. This Lake in passing up it appears like a broad river, from its being very narrow compared with its length. The scenery is very picturesque & soon after passing the village of Champlain, the banks become more elevated, hills of a gentle height arise & then Green mountains & those in N. York near their lofty summits. I have been in a level country since leaving the hudson until last evening & I am pleased again to behold the hill & mountain scenery of New England,—the farm houses villages & the habits dialect & general & yet peculiar aspect of its population. I seem to be again in the land of my youth,—the dear country where are all my relatives & with which are associated so many pleasing & endearing recollections & affections. *Home* is a darling, god-blessed & precious word, & it makes my heart leap to find I am now rapidly approaching my own happy cottage.

Mr. Featherstehaw informed me that it was now the opinion of Geologists that the whole surface of the earth once had a tropical climate even to the poles, for the only plants & trees found in the early stone formations are tropical. This was at a time when the crust of the earth was less thick & the central heat was felt over all the surface; but as the moulten mass cooled deeper & deeper the polar regions became covered with ice & snow & the tropicks, which when they were bearing tropical plants were too hot for vegetation but at last became lowered enough in temperature to allow plants to flourish & from their position, are kept at a sufficiently high point of heat to render vegetation perenneal. Or the poles may have been under the equator, & all other portions of the earth, at some period of the earths existance. This is a question which puzzles the will & we must take the existing facts proving the once wild climate of the temperate & frigid zones & leave for future Philosophers to divine the mighty cause. God alone can instruct us in this recondite inquiry. Geology has made gigantic strides within this century. Buckland work is a superb monument of human intelligence & the progress of a science which is but

of yesterday. Merian & Hutton picked up specimens of minerals & flourished theories, but Cuvier [Cuvier] laid the deep & broad foundations of Geology & mineralogy & his zealous disciples have followed the extensive routes which he pointed out with an energy & industry which have produced most interesting & highly important results, both for the advancement of science, the development of the natural resources of nations all the branches of industry & the arts.

There is no hope for the improvement of the condition of the people, the agriculture, & general condition of the Canadas until they are either included as states, with New Brunswick, Nova Scotia & the British Possessions in North America, in this Union, or become an independent nation. The merchants, & capitalists are Scotchmen & Englishmen, who come out only to accumulate wealth with the determination to return home, at some future period, & therefore are not directly interested in the future prosperity & welfare of the country & make no permanent establishments in the towns or on the farms. They act & feel like foreigners & have no patriotic sentiment—no deep feeling, no lasting & stable notions in relation to the present or ultimate station which the Colonies may & should occupy. The French descendants & who are called Canadians, are generally ignorant & have not advanced one step since their fore fathers landed on the banks of the St Lawrence.

Let those Colonies become a part of the United States & our citizens would inundate it with emigrants & the change which would be effected in its business industry & improvement in all respects would be more rapid than has been any of the new states which have been created since the revolution. With a good soil, the facilities afforded for navigation & intercommunication, with a large portion of this nation, as well as of the immense tract which they include, the many & immense water-powers—the timber & lumber trade, would all tend to give an impulse to industry & produce consequences as glorious as the means would be ample & encouraging. We must have these colonies & will, by purchase, by their independence, & subsequent request to be admitted into the Union or by Conquest. The first mode

should be immediately attempted, for I have full confidence in its success; and if we had not an insignificant president, & an imbecile administration it would be done, & thus settle all the questions which are of such momentous import to the United States, & each of which may sooner or later produce a war between us & Great Britain.

1st. There is the North eastern boundary.

2d. That on the Pacific ocean.

3d. The right of navigating the St Lawrence.

4th. The fisheries on the coasts of New Brunswick Nova Scotia & more northerly, which are annually occasioning difficulties with our adventurous mariners.

5th. The illicit trade, which will increase with the increasing population of the colonies & the United States along a frontier line of 1000 miles.

6th. The control of the North Western Indians which have been turned loose upon us in all the wars since that of 1745.

7th. The removal of a foreign military & naval force, from a position conterminous with our country from the Atlantic to Lake Superior; a vast field work always occupied & filled with the resources of war.

8th. The securing of the whole supply of timber & lumber & provisions to the West Indies & of the former two products to Great Britain.

8th. The whole of the *Fisheries* on the coast of North America.

9th. The employment of our own naviga[tion] for all the imports & exports of those colonies. An immense object.

So much would be gained in a national point of view; then the non holding states would gain an equivalent in political power & influence, for that secured to the Southern & south western States by the purchase of Louisiana & Florida & Texas & Mexico if they wish them, provided however that they agree to the purchase of the British Colonies. They would form four states immediately & give eight senators, with at least twelve representatives to Congress.

It must be done; & that speedily. Now is the favorable moment [in view of] the difficulties of the last year—the

great expense of the recently arrived military force of 14,000 men & all the other expenses for public works & naval co-operation—the fudes produced in the ministry & other evils experienced in England from the complaints & turmoils of the Colonists & the parties which are exasperated, in consequence of the great & continual expeditures & discussions, which are produced by the possession of the far distant,—& in truth, valueless possession to the forest country.

We can afford to give 100,000,000 millions of dollars for it; for the domain land & the customs would afford funds for paying the interest & liquidating the debt in less than 30 years. Why have we not a Sully, or a Chatham to cut this grand Gorgean Knot!! Such a far reaching & powerful genius as those mighty men possessed will appear I trust, or the combined wisdom of the executive & legislative branches of the national government will do what either of those statesmen would have accomplished in a week, a day, an hour. It is only to say to Great Britain "*What will you take,*" & the sum being named,—to reply "there is the stock for the amount bearing 6 per cent interest, redeemable in 30 years." The work is thus simple, as is all that which is to be performed by a *great man* for a *whole nation*, as no more time or skill is required than to purchase a farm, or sell a bill of exchange for a thousand dollars. The expansive & far looking mind is all that is required to do such deeds.

I suggested to Mr. Featherstenhaw to ascertain what were the ideas of Lord Durham on this subject.

1st. To ascertain whether England would sell the colonies for any sum,

2d. What was his opinion, of the disposition of the British government, to make a conventional & compromising north eastern boundary line, of this kind, beginning at the mouth of the St Johns river & running up the channel to the St Francis to the Highlands which skirt the right bank of the St Lawrence, or the next northern branch; & if there was an unwillingness which was insuperable to yield so much on the Atlantic;

3d. Let there be a line run due north from some intermediate point between the mouths of the St John & the St

Croix until it strikes the former river & then up its channel as above named.

Such a compromise I believe practicable, if a purchase cannot be effected; & I do not think that England will ever consent to acknowledge the line as described in the treaty of 1783. She must have a communication by the St Johns & the St. Francis, or a more north western branch to Quebec, & the line justly claimed by us would render the route from New Rivers creek Nova Scotia to that capitol of all the Colonies & also the fortress, so difficult & so circuitous & much longer as to induce an insuperable objection on the part of England to establish it by a convention or treaty.

We must therefore purchase or make a new compromise line. Such is our present condition, that of the Canadas & Great Britain that the purchase is very desirable & if that cannot be accomplished, at once the other should be adopted; & no time should be lost, for each year the achievement of either plan will be more & more difficult from the increasing consequence of the colonies & others of many kinds, which time can not fail to reveal & must probably in the form of a *War*.

11 oclock. I have just returned from a walk over Burlington. The streets are regular & some of the houses beautiful. I passed a neat garden containing a green house, summer house, & a number of pear, apple & plum trees. The grounds were well laid out & shew much taste in floriculture. The dahlias shew there had been no frost here, as their foliage was green & unskathed, by that first precursor of winter, who sometimes smites vegetation, with a deadly blast much earlier than this. I presume the Lake prevents frosts from being so early in their visits on its margin, it is a vast reservoir of caloric tempering the cold air which comes over it. The building stone is blue lime & red sand stone. I picked up a sample of the latter, to carry home. The wind is blowing strongly from the south west, & of course nearly up the Lake.

The Colleges are on an eminence south of the village. Some of the side walks are paved with brick & others are graveled. There is a public square with a street stores &

houses front on it on the four sides & a circular area enclosed with a neat painted railing, in which paths have been cut & bordered with trees & the remainder of the ground is covered with verdure. South west of the village, on the lake the land is low & level, but it rises to a bank 70 or 80 feet high in the northern part of the settlement. There is a large wharf for steamboats to come to at & other vessels. There is a Light House on an Island in front of the town a mile or more from the shore.

12 oclock. It begins to look lighter, the dark heavy clouds are dispersing & there [are] signs of the sun's coming out. I ardently hope it may be a bright afternoon & evening for my ride this afternoon to Montpelier.

Montpelier Vermont, October 12. Evening. I left Burlington at one oclock, & had a most comfortable ride, there being seven men & two women, with each a child. * * * This is the most remarkable road I ever passed. It passes in a deep valley through the lofty piles of green mountains or the alternate banks of Onion river, where is generally a strip of intervalle land; The ascent is so gradual that the road appears to be descending instead of rising there is no fall in the whole distance & nothing more than a ripple anywhere. There is so little land capable of cultivation that there are but few houses & except Water borough & one other little settlement no villages. The mountains on each side are very steep & covered to their summits with forest trees from their bases. The tops are crowned with hemlock & other evergreens, from which they have derived the name of the Green Mountains. I do not believe there is in any mountain region with a so remarkably level defile through it. I was every moment looking out for an ascent over a mountain & a lofty cataract or rapid; but here I am on the culminating point between Lake Champlain & Connecticut river. It seems impossible that an elevation of [blank in original] feet has been so equally distributed & a natural acclivity established. in a distance of forty miles in such a manner as to escape any considerable rise. With a few variations in the bed of the road it could be made excellent. How easily a rail-road could be made to pass over this state;

or a canal. It will & must be done & if the people would take a quarter of the interest in improving the lines of intercommunication that they have or are now madly evincing in relation to anti-masonry, abolition, temperance & peace societies. This valley would now or soon be traversed by a canal or rail road.

There was a fanatical blockhead who was vociferating on the abolition of slavery half of the way in the state & the remainder talking nonsense. The fool insisted "That slavery would never be put down until the ministers & churches excluded every slaveholder from the communion table." One of his own diabolical party was staggered at such doctrine & said he did not believe such was the opinion of the abolitionists generally, but the *modern* Calvin insisted that was the true & established creed of the abolitionists & that it was acted upon by many churches. The devil has been turned loose in New England & the fools of priests & the religious & political abolition & temperance demagogues & ignoramuses & fanatics are as wild & desperate & furious in the prosecution of each & all those chimerical schemes as were the same class of people during the early puritanical catamounts, under John Knox & Cromwell in Scotland & England & during the days of Roger Williams & Massachusetts witch-craft.

They have erected in every village a kind of moral inquisition have their resolution autodafes, [*auto da fes*] with the furious & vindictive zeal of the cardinals & Bishops of Spain & France. They would, if they had the power, do as damnable deeds, as those which made the night of St. Bartholomy hideous. Under sanctified faces they think they are doing Christ's & God's service, for all this wickedness is announced as a religious duty; & they talk of their contemptable *consciences* as did Ferdinand & Isabella, when they drove the poor Jews out of Spain & the polished moors. Hell is as fully represented now, in New England, as it ever was in any country under the blood stained & fire-blasted horror of the Pope. When O! God will man learn mercy & conduct in conformity to the charitable & beneficent & peaceful precepts of thy son? Is the world never to be at rest?

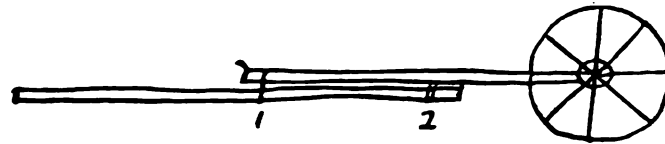
Will not intelligence & virtue & wisdom one day take the place of ignorance, vindictive persecution & folly?

I listened & spoke not a word, from Burlington to this place, during a ride of seven hours, so disgusted was I, & so contemptible did this Vermont *Pharisee*, this Calvinistic wretch appear. I found if I spoke I must call him by rough names & say to him, you unprincipled rascal, how dare you undertake to say, who shall go up to the communion table of God. Do you not know you are advocating a violation of the constitution exciting a servile & civil war, & committing such treasonable, diabolical, tyrannical, unmerciful, immoral, unjust, & dishonest crimes as will lead to a dissolution of the Union & an hundred other equally,—ay more severe remarks. But I knew not the doalts & with difficulty kept silent. Pity & contempt mingled with a disposition to kick the chief rascal out of the stage, were the alternate feelings with which I was impressed. God forgive me & mend him.

Concord New Hampshire Octo 13. I left Montpelier at 2 oclock this morning & came to Royalton 36 miles to breakfast. It rained nearly all the way, was dark & cold for about day light it snowed & even as late as half past eleven this forenoon, snow was still laying on the hills in New Hampshire. I dined at Enfield about two miles this side of the Shaking quaker settlement. They have recently erected two stone houses & one is four stories high & very capacious in length & width. The material is hammered granite. After dinner came to this town & reached the hotel at 9 oclock, having been riding 19 hours & passed over 112 miles of rough mountainous road. I am not, however fatigued; proving that I have gained health & strength by my western tour.

Mr. Jenkham a trader in West Hartford in Vermont came on with me from that town. A modest intelligent & pleasant companion. He has sent off waggons with agricultural & other products to Boston & is going down to purchase merchandise to freight them back. These waggons are enormously large, & drawn by four pair of horses & sometimes five pair. They carry up & down 4 tons. The wheels have fellows four to five inches broad. They are 7

days in going down & as many returning the distance being 130 miles they have one dollar a hundred freight. The owners generally walk all the way beside of their horses. There is a false pole as it is called fitted to the common one, by the means of which two pair of the horses aid in holding when descending hills. The false pole is thus secured:



1 is a ring through which the false pole passes & the other end passes 8 or 10 through another at 2, & is prevented from going further by a shoulder at the end like this:



The lower ring is secured by two bolts which pass through the lower wheel pole & are made secure by an iron plate on top & one beneath on which the ring is hung by an eye bolt: [See second sketch above.]

He informed me that a great many tons of dried apples are prepared & sent to the Boston market by the females in Vermont. That he takes in & sends to Boston six or seven tons a year. It takes a bushel to make five pounds for which he gives 4 cents per pound, & the apples therefore are worth but 20 cents per bushel after all the labor of peeling, quartering, coring stringing & drying & carry to the traders has been bestowed on them. They are peeled & quartered by little machines, & in the autumn parties are made of 10 or so females & young men, who divide the work, some peel, others quarter, while others are employed in taking out the cores with a small knife or in stringing them on strong threads, by which they are suspended to dry. He had been to such parties where 30 bushels were peeled &c. &c. in an evening. After the work is done which is soon after nine,

cake & pies are passed round & then they often have dancing. one woman sold him last autumn, 400 pounds, which she had entirely prepared with her own hands in the evening. They required nearly 100 bushels of apples, for which she got only 16 dollars.

Octo 14 Left Concord after breakfast, dined at Nashua & got home at 10 oclock in the evening. Found my wife & sons well thanks to Almighty God.

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JOURNAL OF THE
SECOND VISIT TO THE SENECA
IN THE YEAR 1838

BY HENRY A. S. DEARBORN*

JOURNAL OF A MISSION TO BUFFALO, IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK, TO NEGOCIATE A TREATY WITH THE SENECA NATION OF INDIANS, FOR THEIR EMIGRATION, TO A TERRITORY ASSIGNED THEM, WEST OF THE STATE OF MISSOURI, AND FOR THE SALE OF THEIR RIGHT OF POSSESSION OF THEIR SEVERAL RESERVATIONS, OF LAND, ON ALLEGHANY RIVER, CATTARAUGUS, BUFFALO & TONNEWANDA CREEKS, BY H. A. S. DEARBORN, SUPERINTENDENT OF MASSACHUSETTS.

Nov. 9. 1838. I left Boston on the afternoon of this day at 3 oclock in the rail-road cars for Stoning[ton], where I arrived at half past 7 & took passage for New York, in the Steam Boat Narraganset.

Nov. 10. I arrived at New York this morning, at 7

* Vol. III. of the manuscript journals, in which are contained the narratives of Gen. Dearborn's second and third visits to Buffalo, has the following title: "Journal of a Mission to the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, and an Account of the Treaties held with those Tribes, in the Years 1838 & 1839, for the Sale of their Lands and for their Emigration West of the Mississippi River. By H. A. S. Dearborn, Superintendent of Massachusetts. Vol III." It contains, beside the journals (Nov. 9, 1838, to Jan. 1, 1839; and Aug. 7 to 21, 1839), the following private correspondence: Letters on various subjects, from August 3, 1838, to October 13, 1838; Letters from November 8, 1838, to April 8, 1839; Letters from T. L. Ogden to H. A. S. Dearborn. Only the journals are here printed.

oclock & put up at the Astor House. Soon after I reached the city, I learned that the Whigs had achieved a glorious victory, by electing their Governor,* Lt. Governor, a large majority of the Legislature & of the Members of Congress. It is the most momentous event since the close of the Revolution, for it decides the fate of the present, incompetent & ruinous national administration. It is the advent of the reestablishment of the Republic on Constitutional principles, & the recurrence to those measures, on which the stability of the Union, and the prosperity & happiness of the people depend. The effect throughout the whole country, will be as cheering, as it is honorable to this state, & momentous to the Republic.

Saw T. L. Ogden Esqr. who informed me that the Hon. R. H. Gillet, the Commissioner of the United States, for holding treaties, with the several tribes of Indians in [N. Y.] had passed through the city on his way home from Washington, & who informed him that the Secretary of War had decided that it was not considered necessary, to again open the Council with the Senecas, but that the names of such Chiefs as were disposed to emigrate might be signed in our presence. Mr. Strong the Interpreter called on me, having recently arrived from Washington. He agreed to accompany me to Buffalo.

Wrote letters to my wife, sister Parker & my Chief Clerk, & at five oclock in the afternoon, went on board the Steamer De Witt Clinton, bound to Albany. It had frozen hard the night before & was very cold still. During the evening I was introduced to Genl. Talmage of the United States Senate & conversed with him on the recent election, the conduct of the President & other subjects, until eleven oclock, when he landed at Pokipsee, where he resides. I was introduced

* In the election of 1838, William H. Seward and Luther Bradish, the Whig candidates for governor and lieutenant governor of New York, were elected by a majority of about 10,000. The Whig majority in the Assembly was about two to one, and in the Senate the Whigs carried five of the eight districts. The Western New York counties were strongly Whig. The change of party in the National Administration which Gen. Dearborn enthusiastically predicted, came in 1840, when Harrison, the Whig candidate, received 234 electoral votes to 60 cast for Van Buren, whose "incompetent and ruinous" administration ended the following March.

to Col. Mc Key* a lawyer of Buffalo, who I found a very intelligent & agreeable gentleman.

November 11. We landed in Albany at 7 o'clock, & after breakfast took the rail-road cars for Utica, where we arrived at four oclock. It has been a very cold day. At 5 we took passage in a Canal packet for Syracuse, & entered that city at 6 oc on the morning of November 12. & the next morning being the 13th were at Rochester where we landed & were obliged to remain until 2 oclock in the afternoon waiting for the packet-boat from the West. My estimable friend Genl. J. G. Swift formerly Chief of the Corps of Engineers, & Majr Smith of the Engineer Corps joined us at Rochester. We had a pleasant afternoon & evening, on our way to Lockport for the Genl & myself called up the incidents of by-gone days, as we have been intimately acquainted since 1808, but I had not met him for many years,—at least fourteen. He had been engaged in the works for improving the harbors of Genesee river & Sodus.

November 14. We landed at Lockport at seven & took the Rail-Road Cars, for Niagara falls at nine, where we arrived at eleven oclock, having performed the journey of 750 miles in less than five days, although I stoped in New York from 6 until five in the afternoon, on the 10th & was detained from 7 in the morning until two in the afternoon at Rochester. It seemed as if some magical contrivance had been used—for one can scarcely realize the sudden transition which had been effected in so brief a period. As I stood on Goat-Island, looking down into the profound abyss, of the mighty cataract,— that "Hell of Waters," I, involuntarily, asked myself, is not this all a dream, and gazed around with inquiring eyes, to ascertain whether in truth, it were a reality. The sky was cloudless—a splendid iris arched the ascending spray—an autumnal sun bathed the surrounding scenery in its peculiar mellow beams, and all the air a solemn stillness held. Above the rapids, the broad Niagara river was as unruffled & smooth as a mirror, while the latter came careering down with furious speed & then making one awful tremendous & thundering leap continues madly

* James McKay.

down the deep & narrow gulf to mingle quietly with the waters of lake Erie. [! Ontario.]

As I walked round the island, I thought of my dear grandsons who but 20 days before had traversed the same path & looked upon the same objects, & now they were far away in the distant west. With what pleasure, yet how melancholy was it to my soul, did I read their names recorded in the book of arrivals at the Hotel where I dined. There too they had sat down at the same table & I momentarily expected to hear their voices, for they seemed to be within the scope of my eyes & sense of sound. God bless & prosper them I beseech thee. I arrived at the American Hotel in Buffalo at five oclock, having left the falls, in the rail road cars at 3.

November 15. Doctr. Wilcox & Orlando Alen [Allen] Esqr called on me. Learning that Mr. Gillet the Commissioner of the United States had arrived, I called at the United States Hotel to see him but he had gone to private lodgings, & I could not ascertain where until the next morning.

Nov. 16. It has rained all day. Judge Stryker waited upon me & sent his son with a carage to take me to Mr. Gillets lodgings, who informed me, that the Secretary of War had decided, that it was not necessary the council of the Senecas should be convened, but that such of the Chiefs as might determine to sign the treaty could do so in our presence. I met him in the evening by appointment at Judge Strykers house, to consult as to the mode in which the negociations should be carried on, & it was concluded that written information should be sent to the principal Chiefs on the Alleghany, Cattaraugus, Buffalo Creek & Tonawanda Reservations of the determination of the Secretary of War, & that we would either here or at those several reservations, receive the signatures of such of the Chiefs as wished to affix their names to the treaty. I wrote a letter to my good wife.

Nov. 17. I wrote an official & private letter to Governor Everett, & enclosed a copy of the instructions from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Mr. Gillet, & of the letter

addressed to the chiefs. It froze last night & there was a slight fall of snow, with a violent gale, which has continued for 48 hours, so that the steam boats could not leave the harbor.

Nov. 18. A cold night & day. It began to snow at one & continued until dark. Two inches fell. Col. Bankhead of the U. S. Artillery commands at this military post, where there are three companies. He puts up at this Hotel, with several of his officers. Mr. James Wadsworth of Geneseo arrived this afternoon & I was happy to learn that his beautiful and agreeable lady, his venerable & excellent father, amiable sister & brother were all well.

I have been invited to attend a celebration of the Whigs of Erie County next Wednesday to commemorate the glorious victory their party has achieved throughout the state, in the election of Governor Lt. Governor, a large majority of the members of the state & national legislatures, last week. It is the most important event since the Revolution, for it decides the fate of the present incompetent & infamous administration of the United States. The reign of radicalism & the various measures, which have been pursued since the ignorant, passionate, vindictive & rascally career of the unprincipled & tyrannical Jackson commenced, will now be brought to a close at the next presidential election. The Republic is saved from destruction. Confidence will be restored among the people & all branches of industry will prosper for the infamous & blighting Sub-Treasury System can not now be established. Again the people will be free. There is not a nation in Europe which has been so badly governed, & its affairs so ignorantly & fatally managed as this for the last ten years. But thanks to Almighty God the intelligence & virtue of the people have triumphed over the corruptions & impositions of Jacksonism & Van Burenism. Again the ship of state is off & the cheering cry,— "*she rights, she rights*" is heard from stem to stern, from above & aloft.

George Jimenson, Harris, & Strong—three of the Seneca Chiefs—have called on me & Cone, my interesting Tona-

wanda young friend, who gave me so many traditions of his nation.

We have reports of another revolt among the Canadians in Lower Canada & at Prescot, & that numbers of Americans have joined them. There have been several partial skirmishes, & a battle is expected between 3000 patriots & an equal number of British troops in the vicinity of Montreal. Marshal Law has been proclaimed in Upper & Lower Canada. All intercourse was stoped, yesterday, across the Niagara river & several persons who had gone to the Canada shore opposite Black Rock & below the Falls were prohibited from landing.

Nov. 19. I have read Alice, Bulwers last novel. It is superior to anything he has written. The tale is more continuous & not disrupted by episodes & halts to describe scenery & an effected kind of philosophising, which renders his other works tedious; especially his Last days of Pompei & Rienzi. I have also read the 5th & 6th numbers of Nicholas Nickleby & now am reading Steven's travels in Greece, Turkey Russia & Poland.

Afternoon. As Mr. Gillet had taken lodgings at the Eagle Hotel, I have joined him, to make it more convenient to attend to the negociations with the Indians & for those persons who may have business to transact with us.

Little Johnson came in this afternoon & signed the treaty, which he said he did freely & voluntarily. He observed to Mr. Gillet that at the Council last winter he was in opinion with him, but was in opposition when we were together in the summer to show him what his power was, for he considered himself the principal Chief of the Seneca Nation. Now he was happy to be again with him.

November 20. It snowed last night & it is now seven or eight inches deep & still snowing. Mr. Bela Lincoln of Maine called on me this forenoon. He is grand son of Genl. Lincoln of the Revolution & is bound to Illinois, to join Mr. Richards & my beloved son Henry. I wrote to Henry by him.

Young Chusick [Cusick] one of the Tuscarora Chiefs called on me last evening & this morning. I began a letter

this forenoon to my friend Col. Bigelow, the Secretary of State, giving him an account of this region of country; its rapid settlement & future destinies. Took a walk just before dark. The day has been cloudy & windy & gloomy. As I looked off upon the lake the prospect was awfully grand. The dense black clouds came down upon it like a huge & impassable barrier & the dark surface of the angry waters, was broken into crests of foam, as the tumbling billows rolled onward to the resounding shore. It looked like the sombre dominions of Eribus & Nox.

Sleighs have been running all day, & winter in all his terrors has come upon us suddenly & unexpectedly for each day it has rained I have sanguinely believed the next would be pleasant & that there would be two or three weeks of Indian summerlike weather before the autumn closed. I hope it yet, but with less confidence.

Nov. 21. A clear day with a strong southwest wind. I attended the Whig celebration, & made a speech & gave a toast. Received a letter from my wife & son William this forenoon dated the 14. It made glad my heart. I have written a letter to Col. Bigelow & am now copying it in relation to the prosperous condition & future prospects of this city & the great west.*

Nov. 22. It has been cloudy & damp & thawed all last night & this day. The city was beautifully illuminated last evening. I have written all day, although I have had a horrible head-ache. I walked down to the harbor & saw nine steam boats go out, while two others were coming down the lake, so that eleven were to be seen under way at the

* This letter, and several others mentioned in subsequent pages of the journal, were addressed to the Hon. John P. Bigelow, then Secretary of the State of Massachusetts. Mr. Bigelow placed them in the hands of the editor of the *Boston Courier*, in which journal they were printed. They were afterwards republished in book form with the title: "Letters on the Internal Improvements and Commerce of the West, by Henry A. S. Dearborn." (8vo. pp. 120. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, printers, 1839.) Seven of the letters were written at Buffalo, in November and December, 1838; three others of the series were written at Roxbury after Gen. Dearborn's return home. They relate chiefly to canal and railroad construction and prospective development throughout New York State and the West, special attention being paid to Buffalo and the Niagara region. A copy of this now scarce volume is in the Buffalo Historical Society library.

same moment & eight were in the harbor besides between 40 & 50 ships brigs & schooners. A most interesting spectacle. The following is a printed account of the whig celebration of the 21st. [Clipping from Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* Nov. 22, 1838, here omitted.]

Nov. 23. This has been a mild & pleasant day. I walked down to the harbor between one & two. I have completed the copy of my letter to Mr. Bigelow & it makes 30 pages. I am tired of writing & will read Steven's travels in Russia, &c, it being nearly 9 oclock in the evening & I have written steadily since six this morning, save my short walk.

Nov. 24. It froze last night & snows this morning. Little Johnson the principle chief of the Senecas & Gordon one of the Alleghany chiefs called on me yesterday, & expressed the gratification, that I had again come among them, & stated what universal satisfaction, I had given when here before, & the confidence the Indians had in my honesty, & disposition to act justly & fairly, & see that they were treated properly in the negotiations. I informed them that, I was a friend of the indians & most anxious to discharge my duty faithfully in [all] respects, & held myself accountable to the great spirit, who looked down with equal solicitude on the red, as well as the white man, & that they might be assured of my unremitted efforts to guard & protect their rights & interest.

I find there are eight Sachems or Chief men of the nation,—the great civil officers, who are Little Johnson (Pagan), above named, Daniel Two-Guns (Christian), Capt. Pollard (Christian), James Stevenson (Christian), George Linsley (Pagan), of the Buffalo reservation, Capt. Strong (Pagan), & Blue eyes (Christian), of Cattaraugus & Jimmy Johnson (Pagan), of Tonawanda.

Nov. 25. A very cold night. The Erie Canal closed. The day has been cold, with a slight fall of snow. I commenced a second letter to Mr. Bigelow on internal improvements & wrote eleven pages. Completed a letter to my wife & sent it to the post office this evening.

Nov. 26. A cold night, but the morning is calm &

sunny, presaging a pleasant day, & I hope a succession of them before winter really commences. Mr. Strong the Interpreter returned last evening from Cattaraugus, & Harris the educated chief called on me in the evening. I waited on Gov. Mason* of Michigan, who has been to N. York to be married & is on his return home. I am reading Parker's Exploring tour beyond the Rocky Mountains— He was sent by the Board of Foreign Missions. From his account the tribes of indians, believe in a God, who made & presides over all things, in the immortality of the soul,—a future state of reward & punishments— they are honest, truth telling, peaceful & amiable. He is a calvanist & the last of all the sects to improve the religion & morals of a savage race. He will unsettle their own simple belief & reverence for the Great Spirit & teach them incomprehensible creeds, articles of faith & gloomy notions of God & their own condition & duties & make them more & more unhappy. Those tribes west of the mountains are exactly in a state for the philanthropist, to aid & bring into a civilized condition. Let mechanics, farmers, seeds & tools be sent to them & persons to teach them to read & write to play on instruments of music, to dance & sing & all the useful arts & say nothing of religion & they may soon [be] rendered industrious happy & enlightened; & the christian religion will follow of course. But if the missionaries go among them & attempt to *christianize* before the indians are civilized, the result will be as fatal as in all other parts of this continent. When will our clergy learn wisdom & our people act from facts, truth, intelligence & the dictates of reason & experience? After more than two centuries of sad & lamentable efforts on the part of the various christian sects, to elevate the condition of the natives, the same erronious course is still being pursued. We learn nothing from the past & act like fanatics, instead of the true & enlightened disciples of the pure & upright man who, with so much modesty, yet independence, taught the fundamental principles of morals & the true philosophy of human happiness.

* Stevens Thomson Mason, fourth territorial governor (1834-35) and first governor of the State of Michigan (1836-40). At the expiration of his term of office he settled in New York and practiced law until his death, Jan. 4, 1843.

I walked down to the harbor between one & two & found it was frozen over as well as the Canal & all kinds of vessels closed in the ice, most probably for the winter.

An Indian Chief by the name of Saml Wilson called at our appartments this afternoon, with the Indian Agent & [in] his presence & that of the Interpreter Strong the Chiefs George, Jimenson, White Seneca, & Pearce, signed the treaty. I asked him if he did so freely & voluntarily & he replied "yes, & with a sound mind."

I called on Mr. Lincoln* the Collector. He is the son of the illustrious De Witt Clinton. I met many Indians in the street, from the various reservations who appeared to be glad to see me, & especially Israel Jimenson of Cattaraugus, who was the most violent & outrageous of the opposition party, at the last council. I have just been present in our common parlor, to the signature of John Bark, a Chief of the Buffalo reservation by George Jimenson his Atty, said Bark having gone to the Alleghany Mountains on a hunting excursion. The Indian Agent & Dot Wilcox were present. The power was verified by oath before Judge Stryker.

Nov. 27. It was snowing when I got up this morning. Wrote to the Governor & my wife. This forenoon Tall Peter a Chief came to my room, with Mr Orlando Allen, I was informed that William Cass a Chief who signed the treaty last winter, & who lived near Youngs on the Buffalo Creek Reservation wished to sign the treaty although opposed to it in the Council last held, but was afraid to come into town, on account of the other chiefs in opposition, but [would] sign if we would meet him at Allen's tavern near where the last council was held, & this afternoon, Mr. Gillet & myself went out there & in the evening he came to the tavern & in our presence & that of Mr. Allen & Tall Peter signed the treaty. I asked him if he did so willingly & he replied that he did. We did not get back until eleven as the roads are horidly rough & we were in a carriage, as there was not enough snow for a sleigh when we went out; but now it is over six inches deep as it has snowed all day.

* So written in the journal, obviously by inadvertence. In 1838 George W. Clinton, son of DeWitt Clinton, was Collector of the Port of Buffalo Creek, which office he held until he became Mayor in 1842.

Nov 28. A cold cloudy day. Walked out before dinner, & have read & wrote all the remainder of the time. Lt. Townsend,— son of my friend Majr. Townsend, of Boston & pay-master in the army—called to see me. He is Adjt. of Col. Bankhead's* Regiment of Artillery, whose Head Quarters are in Buffalo.

Nov 29. A very cold windy day. I dined with Genl. Potter, it being the thanksgiving of this state & the New England states, save Vermont. An Oneida Chief called on me this forenoon. He has nine children & 22 grand children which will entitle him to over 10,000 acres of land in the new Indian territory, & he appeared quite elated at his good fortune. I began to copy my second letter to Mr. Bigelow.

Nov. 30. The wind blue a gale all night & all this day from the South west. I walked down to the extreme end of the wharf on the northern side of the harbor to behold Lake Erie, in a tempest. Its waves were rushing on to the resounding shore like those of the ocean. The scene was sublime. The sun has shone all day for the first time since I arrived, & the evening is cloudless, with a brilliant full moon and the wind has subsided considerably. This place is the very throne of Eolus. The position between the two great Lakes, Erie & Ontario, makes it a race course for "the sightless couriers of the air," & a *calm* is rarely to be seen. That mild & quiet & to me darling & lovely goddess, is very chary of reclining on the banks of the Niagara; & yet I did witness her soothing smiles on those waters last summer, as she was gazing upon the reflected landscape in the *bright green waters* (they are peculiar from the green tint they present as are all the lakes.) I have copied 27 pages of Letter No. 2. to Mr. Bigelow.

December 1. The sky is overcast with a haze, the wind still south west, but not so violent, & it thaws. Three Steamboats arrived down the lake this morning & one has gone out of the harbor for Detroit. [Newspaper clipping omitted.]

From the following [newspaper clipping, letter of Prof.

* J. W. Bankhead was colonel of the Second Regiment, Artillery, stationed in Buffalo at this time.

Hitchcock] & other like statements it would appear that this earth is but a huge mass of extinct animals,—a mausoleum reared to the dead from the bodies of the dead. God! what a train of thought does this curious & most remarkable revelation of the mineral world excite. Matter, weather [so in original] now dead & inert, is but the debris of living beings. The work of creation then begun with *life* & death is but one of the modes of preparing the materials for the structure of the universe; and may not we give place to animals as much superior, as is man to the brutes. Angels may dwell on the spot where our flesh & bones have prepared the proper place of residence for them. The ideas which are roused are sublime.

Evening of Dec 1. I finished the copy of my 2d. letter to Mr. Bigelow just before dark. It makes forty pages. My heart was made glad, this afternoon by a letter from my darling daughter Julia & good son William dated the 24th ult. My beloved wife was improving in health.

December 2. It blew violently all night but it is mild & this morning there is less of wind & it thaws; still it is cloudy & squalls of snow have been frequent during the day. I corrected the copy of Letter No. 2. to my friend Bigelow & sealed it up this morning.

I am reading Napoleon & his times by Caulincoort Duke of Vicenza in two vols. 12mo. It is an account of conversations with the Duke by a lady. It is interesting—very; & if the statements may be relied upon valuable to the historian. No indication is given who the lady is. I am also reading Col. Stone's life of the Indian Chief Brant.

Evening. It has cleared off cold & the night is cloudless. I have completed Napoleon by Caulincoort. It is a sad & grievous tale. The fault of the Emperor was that he ceased from fighting. He should [have] kept with his army, put all the traitors under arrest, shot Fouche & Talleyrand by a drum-head court martial, & he would have defeated the allies & been Emperor until life was extinct, either on the battlefield or on his imperial couch in the Thuilleries. He was wrong to have hesitated, a moment. He had only to rely on his sword & that would have saved him.

I have been surprised at a most shameful article in the Boston Atlas. It is infamous; the outpouring of a rabid radical, an unprincipled demagogue. Who has been at the bottom [of] it & the sudden declaration for Harrison. I fear a man who I have honored & confided in has acted a base part & the great, the patriotic, the honest, warm-hearted Clay has been sacrificed, by a faction. How is it that Webster has been nominated by the Anti-masons as Vice President to Harrison. Has he been ploughing with the radical whigs, the anti masons, the abolitionists, to defeat Clay, because he found he could not be nominated & therefore unites with Harrison. God! what a prostitution of principles, of honor, of honesty. To take up such an ordinary man as Harrison, in preference to the incomparable Clay. The bold, fearless, eloquent & mighty champion, who for eleven years, —ay 16 years [has] been battling in the cause of his country, in the Halls of Congress, with a genius, talent & power such as no other man ever exhibited. O! it is horrible.

Alas! we have fallen on evil times. When the aurora of a glorious day began to dawn in our political horizon, the welkin is suddenly involved in those thick-coming clouds, which overshadowed the earth, during that dreadful period of the dark ages. The ignorant, the poor, the base the unprincipled are to be appealed to & the wealthy & intelligent denounced, Another Jeremiah may well proclaim, woe, woe to our American Jerusalem. I despair of the Republic. It is impossible it can be maintained, if the radical doctrines & measures which the Atlas announces are to be held up as the peculiar & necessary system of the Whigs. The mob will be the government & then comes despotism. It is awful to discover such demonstrations, & especially when it looks like the act of one who we have so much confided in & honored. There is too much of vice, too little of virtue, too much ignorance, too little honor & principle, for a Republic, I fear. We have been rapidly retrograding, as a people, for the last 20 years.

December 3. A cold dark & a cloudy, dark day. I read the account of Napoleon's reign, by Caulincourt, I could not but be forcibly impressed, with the immense

power of Russia, & the superior intelligence of Alexander & of his civil & military officers to that of the other sovereigns & nations who cooperated in the terrific war against France. The account too of the Russian empire, the refinements, wealth & splendor of the court,—the wonderful change which had been wrought in that vast region, which but a short time before was occupied by an assemblage of barbarous tribes. The world never presented such a spectacle. Never has there been effected such a change in the condition of a people. It is a miraculous illustration of the god-like power & energy of one great mind. Peter I was the most extraordinary & truly greatest man that ever lived. As a general & a conqueror he equalled the most renowned & defeated, after a long continued & disastrous war, the most consummate general of modern times. His greatness consisted in his luminous & bold conceptions, his gigantic views, & unabated & successful efforts to render his every thought & act *Useful to his Country*. He fought battles on the land & on the seas, but to enable him to perfect & carry into complete operation his grand & beneficent systems for immeliorating the condition the advancement of civilization through his vast dominions. He founded cities, established manufactories, created armies & navies, extended agricultural knowledge, made roads, built bridges, erected magnificent edifices, encouraged the industrious & ornamental arts, & patronized literature & science, in the midst those long & tremendous wars, which were alone sufficient, to occupy the whole attention & absolve all the resources of nearly every potentate of christendom, as well as of Turkey & Persia & all the Tartar & Cosack tribes from the Baltic to the frontiers of China, with whom he was compelled to contend for the integrity of his empire & the stability of his throne. He waged war solely in self defence—not for the idle prestige of military glory, but to enable him to advance into the front ranks of the most distinguished & refined nations. He was the modern Anacharsis nobly triumphing over the ignorance customs & barbarous pursuits of the wild & savage nations of the long benighted & degraded Sythia.

The resources, both physical & moral, of his inveterate &

deadly enemy, Charles of Sweden, were exhausted, his army & fleets annihilated & his whole Kingdom & people impoverished, when that gallant prince fell by the chance shot of a battery an assassin on the bleak shores of the northern ocean in the dark hour of midnight winter, leaving a bright name in the annals of chivalric desperation; but, who, regardless of his country, battled for personal fame alone; while Russia had arisen, in majestic grandure like another imperial Rome, from amidst the dark forests of the northern soze, [?zone] & taken her exalted station, as one of the mightiest among the nations of the earth. Peter prosecuted the arts of peace in the midst of bloody campaigns, & fought battles but to enable him to mature & perfect his lofty schemes for the advancement of his subjects;—to carry into effect the philanthropic plans of the philosopher. To him the tent was a cabinet for discussing & projecting the means of elevating the Russian character, & giving consequence to the empire, as well as the head quarters of the army. It was at the same time his civil throne & martial pavilion. There were executed plans of cities & seminaries of learning, & measures devised for establishing commerce, and all the important branches of national industry, as well as for prosecuting the campaign & giving the last decisive orders for anticipated battle. He went from his studies for improving the whole empire. to mount his war-horse for to meet the shock of armies, & returned from victory or defeat, but to pursue his plans of national aggrandizement, with renewed confidence & ardor.

I saw in an Albany paper, this morning, that the route of a Rail-Road from that city to New York had been surveyed. It runs near the eastern boundary line of the state, on the left bank of the Hudson parallel to the valley of the Housatonic river. There is no grade exceeding 30 feet to the mile, or curves of a less radius than 1200 feet,—nearly all being 1,500. The length is only 147 miles. A company has been incorporated for executing the work.

The lines of internal communication in this state are on a magnificent scale. By the letter I have written my friend Bigelow it has been shown what treasures are borne down

the current of the western Pactolus. If its bed & its banks do not glitter with the golden sand, which rendered the oriental river celebrated in antiquity, there must be an amount of wealth upheld & floated on its waves, which will surpass in value the most precious tribute, that ever entered the gates of commerce. What an exciting & glorious spectacle does the enterprise public works of the *Cataract State* present. The prospective results, from the mighty causes which now are & soon will be in full & tremendous action are far beyond what the most intelligent & sanguine can possibly anticipate, not only as relates to this section of the country & its tributary region but the whole republic. Roll on ye coming years, for your revolutions will be such as no other age or nation has experienced. We have been wrapt in wonder, but the next generation will look back upon what we have done & are doing with an astonishment which will be as much greater, as the extent of the population & its advancement in all the arts of civilization will exceed what now exists.

December 5. On the evening of the 3d, at 7 oclock I went with Mr. Gillet Genl. Potter & Orlando Allen to a Hotel 22 miles east on the Batavia road to meet several chiefs, of the Tonnawanda Reservation. We were accompanied by George Jimenson of the Buffalo Creek reservation & Little Johnson of Tonnawanda, two Chiefs of the Seneca nation; but after waiting there until this afternoon until four oclock, Little Johnson who had been to the Indian settlement distant six miles returned, & informed us the chiefs had from some cause changed their mind & concluded not to meet us & we returned to this city where we arrived at half past nine this evening.

It has rained & snowed all the time we have been absent save the night of the 3d which was clear, & cold. We met James Wadsworth of Geneseo at a Hotel four miles this side that where we passed the two days. He came from Geneseo yesterday & was on his way home. I am glad to be back to my room here for we were miserably accomodated at the tavern where we passed two nights & days. A worse house can not well be found, as respects rooms, beds & food; it is

a mere teamsters Inn; but was the nearest to the Indian settlement. Began a letter to my wife.

December 6. It froze hard last night & it is very cold this morning, the wind having got veered to North west. I dined at Black-Rock, with Lewis F. Allen Esq. There were some 8 or 10 other gentlemen. I saw some beautiful boulders of breccia from Lake Superior, at the door step about 15 inches in diameter in which were many fragments of a vivid red jasper.

An Indian Chief by the name of Long John of the Alleghany reservation came in this evening & signed the treaty. He said he did so freely & willingly. I commenced letter No. 3. to my friend Bigelow, on Canals &c. &c. this evening. It is a cold night.

December 7. A cold, cloudy & unpleasant morning. There was a fire in Exchange street last night, which broke out about twelve o'clock; two or three stores were burnt.

Evening. I received an official letter from Governor Everett this evening, in which he expresses a doubt as to the propriety of receiving signatures to the treaty, in any manner, except in an open Council of the Indians. I have submitted it to the U. S. Commissioner & requested him to give me a statement of the opinion entertained by the executive officers of the national government & what has been the custom in similar cases. I also received a private letter at the same time, desiring me to return before the meeting of the Legislature, & I have informed the Commissioner I was anxious to leave by the 15th. & at all events by the 20th of this month. I have written 13 pages of letter No. 3 to my friend Bigelow, on Canals & other internal improvements. This has been a cold day & not being well I have not been out doors. [Sundry clippings, with brief comments, omitted.]

December 8. Another cold, windy & cloudy night morning, but by nine o'clock, the sun came out & have had a bright day—for a wonder. I am quite well again & going on with my 3d letter. Intelligence was received this morning from Detroit, by a Steam Boat, that about 600 patriots had crossed over to Sandwich, where an engagement had

taken place, in which the British troops were defeated, & the town burnt. Two companies of the military joined the patriots. The British had 60 or 70 killed.

I have been walking for an hour & a half; it blows, as usual here, a gale, the winds I find are either up or down the lake varying from S. E. to S. W. & from N. E. to N. W.

This afternoon White Seneca, Little Johnson George & John Jimenson, came to our lodgings, with Judge Stryker, & the Judge read the Deposition of John Jimenson who went at the request of White Seneca to inform Sky Carrier that the Commissioner was in Buffalo & that he could go there & sign the treaty. He replied that he dare not go or even let it be known he had given a power for the commissioner to sign it, as he was continually watched & not allowed to go even into the woods to cut wood. He also stated in the deposition that Sky Carrier desired that White Seneca should sign the treaty for him, which he did with the understanding that the deposition was to be sent to & the case considered, at Washington. I asked Little Johnson, as he acted with the opposition last summer what threats, had been made to restrain chiefs from signing & he said they were first sworn that they would not sign & then told if they did they would be put in jail for false swearing or be killed, & that many who wished to emigrate were frightened from assenting by those threats. He had been threatened but was ready to meet any attempts on his life, as he was a warrior, but others were not so determined & independent.

I completed the letter to my good wife, & wrote the Governor an official & private letter, in answer to those received from him last evening, which I sent to the post office. I now hope to leave for home as soon as the 17th. & God grant I may.

December 9. This is the 30th. day since I left home. The last was the coldest night for the season. The morning is lowering & dark & extremely cold. The day before yesterday I went into the Buffalo Bank at the request of the President to see the manner in which the bituminous coal from Bloomfield county, Ohio burnt. It is superior to the best English surpassing the Kennel; is entirely free from

sulphur ; & the only residuum is a white ashes, between the lamina which are from a 10th to a quarter of an inch thick. The pure charcoal of the wood of which the material is composed is visible, in very thin layers, entirely without bitumen. It can be brought to this town when the Erie & Beaver canal is finished & sold for 6 dollars per ton. It produces a vivid & great blaze, without any offensive smell & when the bitumen is consumed the fire resembles one made of charcoal. This is a precious article, for the arts & domestic comfort. God has scattered benefits with a most bounteous hand through the *Great Western* country.

By the annual report of the Commissioners of the canal fund for 1837 it appears that the property transported on the New York Canals during that year was as follows :

	TONS	VALUE
Products of the forest.....	618,741	\$ 6,146,716
Agriculture	208,043	16,201,331
Mines &c	168,000	3,134,766
Manufactures	81,735	6,390,485
	94,777	23,935,990
	1,171,296	\$55,809,288
	176,512	
Tolls		\$1,292,623,38

The amount which passed down the Erie Canal :

	TONS	VALUE
Products of the Forest.....	385,017	\$ 4,460,137
Agriculture	151,469	14,078,756
Mines &c	64,777	1,286,817
Manufactures	10,518	1,996,644
	611,781	\$21,822,354

Afternoon. Strong the Interpreter & who is a Seneca Chief, remarked that the Indians did not say that their friends were *dead* when speaking of such as had deceased, but made use of an expression which accorded with their notions of the immortality of the soul & the immediate en-

trance into an eternal life of happiness in the future world, for it was only a long & distant journey which they had undertaken, without the intervention of that death, or state of physical non-existence we attach to the state of the body after life has ceased. The term used by them is,— when alluding to departed relations or acquaintances "*san-York he Yah do vik*," which in English he rendered thus: *They have preceded us*— or "those who have preceded us."

December 10. A very cold night, & a violent snow storm with a furious gale down the lake this morning. Strong the interpreter informed me at breakfast this morning that the real name of the celebrated Seneca Chief called Red-Jacket is Shan-go-ya-Wantah [Sa-go-ye-wat-ha]: meaning *The Keeper-awake*:— literally, *He keeps them awake*. Red Jacket, from all the accounts I have been able to obtain from the Indians of his tribe & the whites who knew him, was, undoubtedly the ablest civil Chief & most eloquent man among all the North American Indians; but he was a coward & a drunkard, & his whole private & public character infamous. Little Johnson, the present head Sachem of the Senecas informed me that Red Jacket had never been in action & was a man without any of the qualities of the warrior. Red Jacket was with him & the warriors during the last war when cooperating with our army on this frontier but in neither of the engagements could Red Jacket be found. He always remained in the rear. Five times were the warriors of the tribe in battle near Black-Rock, Fort George, at Chippewa & Lundy's Lane, but Red Jacket never was in danger. The old chiefs informed me that Brant called him in derision, the *Cow-Killer*, as the only act of prowess he ever performed was to kill the cows of the whites during the war of the Revolution.

This forenoon Blacksmith, one of the Tonnawanda Chiefs & Stephen Silversmith, of that band called on me, with Henry Johnson of Cattaraugus as interpreter. Blacksmith said he was glad that I had been protected by the great Spirit & had again come to visit my red brethren. I replied that the Govr. of Massachusetts having been informed that

the Commissioner of the U. S. was again to meet the Seneca Chiefs to negotiate with them in relation to emigrating to the west, he had sent me, as he did last summer to be present to see that the indians were honestly & fairly treated; that I felt a deep interest in the indians & was anxious that they should so decide as would be most conducive to their present future happiness & prosperity; that I was extremely desirous they should become industrious, sober & correct in their habits & thus preserve the remnant of their tribe from destruction. He thanked me for my good wishes & observed that he had watched me closely in the Council at Buffalo Creek & was satisfied I had a good heart & upright mind & was anxious to protect my poor red brethren & do what was in my power for their good. He said there had been a Council held by the Tonnawandas last monday when it was determined that they still were opposed to going west & that they wished to remain where they were. He asked me if I had been to Tonnawanda, I told him I was there a few days since. He then wished to know if any of the Chiefs signed the treaty at that time, I informed none had. He said white men & indians were among them offering money to them to sign the treaty & wished to know if it was right. I answered that it was not, & that I should endeavor to ascertain, whether such as did sign the treaty acted freely & independently; & should be happy to see any of his band & answer all such questions & give such information as they might require so far as I was able. He said they considered me their friend & bid me farewell.

Johnson is a white man. He said he was made prisoner during the revolutionary war, but was so young that he has no recollection of that event. The first thing he remembers, was being on the banks of Niagara River near Black Rock & seeing the Indians catching bass. He was here when Genl. Lincoln [and] Col. Pickering held a council with the Senecas on Buffalo Creek. He has an Indian wife & lives like the Indians. He says he never was drunk in his life. He is an intelligent good looking & vigorous old man.

December 11. A dark, windy cold night & morning. I

passed last evening at Doct Johnson's* who has a magnificent house, large garden & an extensive grove connected with it. There were about twenty ladies & gentlemen. Mrs. Johnson who is only 24, is a beautiful woman. her husband between 50 & 60 *too much age & too much youth*, for a proper union. There was a sister of Mrs. Johnson only 15 years old who is a superb girl. She is tall plump & her whole person as completely developed, as any females at 20. She has a brilliant complexion & the deep rose tint of her cheeks, with the imperial turn of her person give her a truly superb appearance. There was a Mrs. Lord† who is beautiful. She too is only 23 & has an old husband. Mrs. Eustafine, [Evstaphie]‡ wife of the son of the Russian Consul at New York, is a lovely lady, about 20 years old. There was a Russian gentleman & lady who came over in the Great Western, the last trip. They are on their travels over the U. S. He is a Seigneur of an estate in Bohemia, & has 2,000 tenants. He cultivates 2,000 acres of land with wheat, rye, oats &c. The crop is only 6 bushels for one planted. He gave me a very full & detailed account of the people, their habits customs, schools, laws, &c &c. which I have not time to write down, for I must copy my 3d letter to Mr Bigelow which I have completed of 43 pages. This evening Charles Gray-Beard of Buffalo Creek reservation, & John Huchinson of [blank in original] signed the treaty. I asked them if they did so freely & willingly & they answered yes in the presence of James Stephenson, Tall Peter, White Seneca, Thomas

* Dr. Ebenezer Johnson, first Mayor of Buffalo. The "magnificent house" where Gen. Dearborn was entertained, is still standing, well known to all who know historic Buffalo at all, as "the Cottage," Delaware Avenue and Johnson Park.

† Mrs. John C. Lord. In 1838 she was 26 years old, her husband being seven years her senior.

‡ The allusion is to Emily, a daughter of Matthew Wilson, an English artist then a resident of Buffalo, and whose family of daughters were social favorites. Emily became the wife of Alexander Alexis Evstaphie, a son of the Russian consul general at New York. He was secretary of the old Buffalo Mutual Insurance Company, and in 1836 built the house still standing at the northeast corner of Delaware Avenue and Chippewa Street, for many years home of the Hon. E. Carleton Sprague. Susan Wilson, a sister of Evstaphie, married John A. Newbould, a merchant, and won considerable distinction as a writer under the pen-name of "Aunt Sue."

Jimenson, George Jimenson Tommy Jimmy, John Gordon, George Bennet, Strong the interpreter, & Judge Stryker. It has rained since 3 oclock.

I received a letter from my friend J. P. Bigelow this afternoon, & several of the Boston Couriers, containing my letter No. 1. I sent them to James Wadsworth Esqr. of Geneseo, Genl. J. G. Swift of Geneva, & Lewis F. Allen of Black-Rock.

The news from Detroit this evening by the Steam Boat Constitution is, that the Patriots who crossed over to Sandwich had been totally routed & a large number killed & wounded. Deluded & infatuated young men, you have left your parents & relatives to lament in agony your rash & unwarranted conduct. With good motives you have wrongfully & madly rushed on destruction.

On reading Parkers tour to the Columbia river, I noticed the following named plants & trees, which it is desirable should be introduced into our eastern country. At all events I should like to obtain seeds of them & intend to if possible.

Fruits described: Gooseberries. There are four kinds: Common Purple, on low & very thorny bush; White, small, smooth & very sweet; Yellow, this is an excellent kind & flavor, & grows on a stalk free from thorns. Deep Purple. of the size & taste of our winter grape, with a thorny stalk, fine flavor.

Currants. Three kinds. Purple, very large & well tasted, grows on a bush eight or nine feet high. This must be the *Ribes odoratissimum*: introduced into our gardens, from seeds brought by Lewis & Clark, on their return from the Pacific ocean. Yellow. of the size & taste of the large red currant: the bush four or five feet high. Scarlet. Is very beautiful, resembling the strawberry in sweetness, though rather insipid; it grows on a low bush. Snow Berry. A beautiful shrub now common in our Gardens grows west of the Rocky Mountains.

Nutritive Roots. Taro is bulbous plant of the genus *Arum* & is planted in hills, on ground so formed as to be partially flooded with water, somewhat in the manner of

cultivating rice. It is fit for use in 8 or ten months from setting the plants. To prepare them for food it is necessary they should be roasted & they are then a substitute for bread, or they are made into poi by pulverizing them into a paste. Soappatto is a bulbous root, the common soyitta folio, or arrow head & is found only in the valley of the Columbia below the Cascades. It becomes soft by roasting & is a nourishing & palatable food. It is much used by the indians & is an article of trade. It grows in shallow lakes & marshes covered with water. The women wade in search of it, feel it out in the weeds & disengage it with their feet, when it rises to the surface & is saved. Cammas, is a truncated root & is of great importance to the indians. it grows in moist rich ground, in the form of an onion. It is roasted pounded & made into loaves like bread & has a licorice taste. Cowish. or Biscuit root grows on dry land & from about the size of a walnut considerably larger. It tastes like the sweet potato, & is prepared in the same manner for food as the Cammas & is a tolerable substitute for bread. Bitter Root, or Racine Amere, which grows on dry ground, & is fusiform like a carrot & although not pleasant to the taste, is still very conducive to health. Common Onion, and another characterized for its beautiful red flower, which often grows on volcanic scoria where no other vegetation is seen.

Among the flowering vines in the forests near the mouth of Columbia river Washington Irving in his Astoria thus describes that, which he considered deserving of particular notice. Each flower is composed of six petals, about three inches long, of a beautiful crimson; the inside spotted with white. The leaves of a fine green, are oval, & disposed in threes. This plant climbs upon trees with attaching itself to them; when it has reached the topmost branches, it descends perpendicularly, & as it continues to grow, extends from tree to tree, until its various stalks interlace the grove like rigging of a ship. The stems of this vine are tougher & more flexible than willow & are from 300 to 600 feet in length. From the fibres the indians manufacture baskets, of such close texture, as to hold water.

(Dendrology). The Forest Trees, near the coast are hemlock, spruce, white & red cedar, Yew, Cotton Wood, or Balm of Gilliad White Oak, & two other kinds White & Smamp Ash, Willow Black Walnut, & Firs.

Firs, There are three species & constitute by far the greatest part of the forest trees, in the opinion of the Revd. Samuel Parker, the Red, Yellow & White. Red Fir, The foliage is scattered on all sides of the branches in the same form as those found in the eastern states. Yellow Fir has leaves only on the upper side, or upper half of the twigs. The white is oppositely pinnated. One species of the Fir grows to the enormous size of from 4 to 6 feet in diameter & 200 feet high & Mr Parker measured one which was 3 feet in diameter & 250 feet high.

Pine. The pine is not found in the low country, nor far west of the main chain of the Rocky mountains. They are the White, Norway, Pitch & Elastic. The latter is the most numerous. The leaves resemble those of the Pitch Pine, growing in bunches at the ends of the limbs, being shorter & smaller; & the bark & body of the tree resembling the Larch. The wood is firm & very elastic. It grows very tall & straight & without limbs except near the top. He found it very difficult to brake limbs an inch in diameter. He thought they would make excellent masts & spars for ships.

Oak. On the plains below Fort Vancouver he measured a white oak which was 8 feet in diameter, which continued large about 30 feet high & then branched out immensely wide.

Alder, the common & a species that grows very large.

Poplar. Three kinds, common Aspen Cotton wood & Balm of Gilliad.

White Maple. only in small quantities.

Laurel or Bay. There is a tree in the low country which grows much in the form of the Laurel or Bay, but much larger. Bark smooth of a bay red color, leaves ovate (Is not this a Magnolia?) It has been called the straw-berry tree.

There are no walnut, hickory, chesnut or Sugar or Rock Maples west of the mountains, or Beech Bass-Wood, Black

Cherry, Magnolia, White Wood (or Tulip tree) Elms or Birches except a species of Black, Locusts, Hock-berry or Buckeye.

Thorn Bush. There are several varieties, many of which are large & fruitful. Those bearing a red berry present a very beautiful appearance. There is one peculiar to the country, the fruit of which is black & of a delightful sweet taste.

Salalberry is a sweet & pleasant fruit, of a dark purple color, & about the size of a grape.

Service Berry is about the bigness of the thorn apple, black when fully ripe & pleasantly sweet, like the whortle berry

Pambina,—a bush craneberry.

Raspberries. Besides the common there is a new species, three times the size of the former, & is of a very delicate rich yellow but the flavor is less agreeable.

Sweet Elder. A new species.

Vining Honey suckle, he says "is among the first ornaments of nature." I presume it is the vine with a scarlet flower described by Irving.

Sweet flowering Pea, grows spontaneously, & ornaments large patches of ground.

Red Clover. Different from the kind cultivated here, but not less sweet & beautiful.

Wild Flax is found. In all respects except its being perennial it resembles the kind cultivated among our farmers. The stalk, the bowl, the seed, the blue flower closed in the day time & open in the evening and morning. The indians use it for making fishing nets. It must be mowed like grass, for the roots are large & run deep into the earth. It would save the expense of annual ploughing & planting.

Strawberries. Their flavor more delicious than any Mr. Parker had ever tasted.

Sun Flowers. They are common but not large.

Broom Corn, is found in many places on the bottom lands of the Columbia & other streams.

Wild Grain, resembling barley or rye.

December 21. I was violently attacked with a billious

fever on the evening of the 11th. I had an excruciating head-ache pains in my back & limbs & a severe stricture across my chest. They next day I took 20 grains of calomel, salts, & since [?] was bled in the evening nearly a quart. I have since taken ten cathartics, & although the fever has left me & I feel well & sit up most of the time for the last three days, I have no appetite as yet. My tongue is much furred & the Doctor says there is want of action in the liver & have taken for the last three nights blue pills & cleared them off with salts. I am better this evening. I have written three letters to my dear wife, one to my beloved son Henry & this day I wrote the Governor & my friend Bigelow & enclosed him letter No. 4. of 25 pages. This is numbered 4. as No 2 was divided into 2 and 3. The two first have been published here & are much praised.

Genl. Scott of the Army called on me this afternoon. He is just from Detroit. He does not think there will be any more patriot movements on that frontier this winter. 300 had left for their homes & an 100 gone to work on the railroad—pitty it is they have not all been as well employed. He leaves tomorrow to pass down the frontier to Plattsburgh.

Mr. Strong the Interpreter informs me that Genesee as now pronounced by the Senecas *Ja-nes-he-ya* & the word is derived from *Gats-he-nos-he-yu* & means *Good Valley*. This is the usual first Indian salutation, *Ne-on-weh-s,-gah-noh*. I thank the Great spirit you are well. Another mode of salutation, *Ne-on-weh - non, a-hawk, sah-s-gah-noh*. I am happy that [you] are still in good health.

Dec 22. I eat for the first time a piece of beef-steak last night at eleven and drank too tumblers of strong beer. How truly delicious they both tasted. It was the first return of appetite. I walked into the entry for the first time. I am invited to a public dinner.

Genl. Scott called & passed the entire afternoon with me. Mr. Pratt brought me a beautiful boquet of roses geraniums & a Camellia.

Dec 23. I eat a mutton chop last night at ten & drank a pint of ale. Genl. Scott called & sat an hour with me this

afternoon. I have copied letter No. 5 of 28 pages, to my friend Bigelow. I eat three roast apples & drank a tumbler of ale at 3 being all I have taken, this day save a cup of coffee & a piece of dry toast for breakfast. I have written all & just looked over a file of the Boston Atlas from the 7th to the 19th. to be au courant with events in the old Bay State.

Half past 11. Evening. I have just eaten a hearty supper of beef-steak, drank a pint of ale & eaten three apples.

Dec. 24. I completed & enclosed to Mr. Bigelow Letter No. 5. of 28 pages. Israel Jimenson & George Dennis Chiefs & Thomas Bruner a warrier of the Cattaraugus reservation, & William Jones of the Buffalo Creek Reservation called on me this forenoon to inquire as to my health. They have been opposed to the treaty & Jimenson the most violently. He is an able, & cunning man. I thanked them for their kind attention & informed them, the negotiations would close on thursday the 27 & I hoped they would thoroughly weigh all the circumstances & facts & the character of the proposition made to them by the government of the United States & so decide as may be considered best for their interests now & hereafter, & that they shall have no cause to repent, let the decision be which way it may. That I felt a deep interest in their welfare & was most anxious for their happiness & prosperity & hoped the Great Spirit would so guide them as to make their condition pleasant & respectable.

They thanked me for my services & said they had confidence in [my] disposition to aid them & were highly gratified at the honest independent & faithful manner in which I had discharged my duties. We then took leave of each, with reciprocal wishes of health & happiness.

December 25. Here I am, confined to my room on this God-blessed Christmas-day; but thanks to my Almighty father I am much better. My disease save a cough has gone. I have a good appetite, & have for three days walked in the entry, & hope to be able to ride out on the morrow. [Clipping omitted.]

Letters to Mr. Bigelow No. 1. 30 [pages], No. 2 & 3, 40,

No. 4. 25, No. 5. 28, No. 6. 27; Total 150 pages & copy 150 making 300 pages of writing & covering more than three quires of paper.

Dec 25 Evening 11 oclock, I have finished sent off to my friend Bigelow letter No. 6. & the last, on internal improvements, of 27 pages. I wrote to my wife & the Governor.

December 26. I continue to gain strength & feel better this morning than any previous day since the fever left me. I have yet a bad cough but that is passing away. I had a venison steak for supper at 10 oclock, as I eat only once in 24 hours, except taking a cup of coffee in the morning of tea at night with a piece of dry toast. I slept well. This for a wonder is a clear sunny day & I intend to ride out for the first time.

I received yesterday morning a letter from eighteen gentlemen of this city in behalf of those of the city & Black Rock to dinner, for the services they are pleased to think I have rendered this section of country & my own, by the six letters I have written & which are being published on *Internal Improvements*. As I must leave to morrow for home & my health being so delicate, I declined the honorable attention in a letter of three pages.

I have written a letter to Genl. Peter B. Porter who resides in a new & magnificent house he has just completed near Niagara Falls regretting I cannot avail myself of his kind invitation to pass a day & night under his hospitable roof. In it I expressed my opinion of the prosperous destinies of this city & the whole bank of the Niagara to the stupendous Cataract, & of his patriotic military & civil services &c &c &c.

Evening. Thanks to the Lord, the negociations closed this day with the Seneca Indians & I leave God willing for home to morrow.

Mr. Hiram Pratt called at 3 oclock & took me to ride in his carriage, as far as Black Rock.

Evening 11 oclock. I have bought a red Indian Blanket & had a black cord & tassels put to it so as to wear it like a cloak, or Roman toga. I have just eaten for supper a veni-

son steak & drank two tumblers of ale. I have had a flannel breast plate made to protect my lungs, as I have a severe cough yet. I left home on the 9th of November & therefore have been absent 48 days being seven weeks to morrow. O! how anxious I am to be on my way to my dear wife & children, & once [more] be in my darling, comfortable & peaceful home.

Batavia December 28. Morning I left Buffalo at 12 with my good & kind young friend Ho-non-deah, the Interpreter of the United States & a Chief of the Seneca Nation of Indians; who insisted on accompanying me to Boston, to take care of me, he being bound to Washington on business of the Tribe. We got here at half past seven & I was stronger & felt better than the moment I left. We dined at Allen's tavern ten miles from Buffalo, on venison steak. We have a fine parlor, & bed-rooms adjoining nicely fitted up & with a roaring wood fire passed the evening pleasantly after taking a cup of the best coffee, with *new cream*, (what I have not seen, but once, since I left home) a nice beef-steak & good toast with sweet butter. I read the Gazetteer of Michigan, which I bought in Buffalo. It is by John T. Blois & was recently published in Detroit in one vol. large 12mo. It gives the geography, character of soil, minerology, zoology, & botany of the country. The political divisions & statistics &c &c &c. It is a valuable little work, for that young state has risen up so suddenly from a wilderness, that its towns population & actual condition were scarcely known. I took two pills & went to bed at half past eleven, but waking, at half past one from a bad spell of coughing, I got so wide awake I was obliged to get [up] and make a fire & dry me & here I am feeling superbly thanks to a Merciful God, to whom I return, with a contrite heart my most grateful thanks. We expect to reach Canandaigua this evening.

Five o'clock in the morning. I have since I got up at half past one, made out my report to the Governor of twelve pages.

December 29. Utica. I left Batavia at half past nine, & got to Avon on the right bank of Genesee river, distance

25 miles at two oclock. I had hired a private carriage on runners a pair of horses & a driver to take us as far as Auburn 128 miles, but there was so little snow from Caladonia to Avon, & leaving there was still less, as far as Syracuse. the driver said he could not get on any further with runners. I therefore determined to try my strength in getting into the mail stage, which I did at 5 in the afternoon & got to Canandaigua at 9 where I took two cups of green tea & eat a piece of bread & butter; at midnight we reached Geneva, there I took a tumbler of gin & water eat a piece of minced pie, cheese & bread & butter; got to Auburn at 5, breakfasted & took the rail-road, horse-drawn-cars for Syracuse & then a sleigh for Utica, where I arrived at eight oclock, completely exhausted. I had a bad headache was so tired I could scarcely move or speak. my back and limbs ached. The night & day had been dreadfully cold, while it snowed & blew a gale; but I was not cold, for besides my Russian fur-lined great coat, I had an other over it made of an Indian red blanket, stout red Canada stock—stockings which drew on over my boots & reached nearly to my vest & over them thick buck skin moccasins, & a merino shawl tied round my neck. still I feared I had taken cold & should be detained I took a large tumbler of lemonade the first thing, at Utica, had a parlor prepared with a good rousing fire, washed myself & at nine eat a hearty supper of beef-steak & drank two cups of strong coffee, at ten drank another tumbler of lemonade & went to bed & as my sleeping room adjoined the parlor, in which I left a good fire, I slept like a calm on the ocean, got up at five & felt a new man, feeling superbly. I had hired a servant to make a fire at 4 my parlor was therefore warm & I washed & shaved & put on clean linen & stockings, & now I am in good condition to take the rail-road cars to Albany, which leave at nine,—after I have eaten breakfast. Genl. Gillet, overtook us at Avon, in the stage & accompanied us to Syracuse, where he took the stage that branches off to Ogdensburgh.

Albany, Dec. 30. We left Utica in the cars of the Rail-Road at nine & reached this city at 5, in the afternoon. Five of the cars were thrown from the track & among them that

in which were Mr. Strong & myself, but no one was injured. I have copied my official report to the Governor of 14 pages, wrote him a private letter of 4 & it is now quarter past one, & as we are to leave in the mail stage at 2 for Boston, I shall not go to bed;—have called up my young Indian Chief friend & we must pack up.

Northampton December 31. 1838. We had a very cold ride to Pittsfield, where we arrived at 9 in the morning. We learned the thermometer had been down to 10 below zero. We were upset descending the horrible, long crooked, & steep Snake Hill in Perus. Reached this town at 6, when I was very much exhausted, but a light supper & two strong cups of coffee have set me up & I feel quite bright. I have now been riding five days & nights, come 400 miles & have been in bed only 8 hours since I left Buffalo.

Judge Eldridge, of the State of New York, came in the car with me, from Utica to Albany, & related the following facts, in relation to the events of the Revolutionary war. His father James Eldridge lived near Fort Miller on the left bank of the Hudson river & was one of the Committee of safety for the northern District of the state of New York. He went with other Whigs to join Genl Stark's command before the battle of Bennington & was in that important engagement. There was a clergyman by the name of Elder Gardiner, who went with about a hundred tories from the north eastern part of Vermont & joined the British forces under Baum. When the captured troops were marched off to Boston, the Whigs of New York who were in the action took a long rope & tying one end round the neck of Gardiner passed it round that of all the other tories & they were marched off in a string, the loyal priest leading the van. When Burgoyne had reached the Hudson & Genl. Gates had moved up the Hudson to still water, Mr. Eldridge received intelligence one morning that he was to be taken from his house the following night by a party of tories & Indians & carried into the British camp to be hung. His family had been sent down to Albany on the advance of Burgoyne & he was with one man cultivating his land. They put all the furniture in the cellar of every kind & threw water on the

fire so as to wet the ashes & cool the hearth & give the house the appearance that it had been long abandoned. As soon as it was dark he retired back into a thick wood grown up with bushes & having taken a bed & blankets made up a place to sleep for the night. It was at the foot of a narrow ridge of land that ran parallel to the river for some distance. About ten o'clock, they heard the march of men & conversation coming down the ridge & soon halted on the ridge directly above them & but a few rods distant. A consultation was had & a detachment sent to the house, of indians & tories to take him. In about half an hour they returned & reported that they had been into & all over the house & that the man who had given them the information that Eldridge was living there was a liar for there was no furniture in the house, & there was all the appearance that the house had not been inhabited for a long time. To his astonishment Eldridge heard the name of his nearest neighbor given as the villain who had given the information for his arrest. The party soon began to retrace their steps. Eldridge told his hired man to lie still where he was & he would endeavor to cross the river & give information to Genl. Gates of the expedition which consisted of about eighty tories & Indians. He ran down to the Hudson & soon found a sloop [sloop] on which he placed himself & paddled with his hands & feet across the river. As soon as he landed he was seized by a Sentinel & carried into the camp. He gave an account of what had transpired when a strong detachment was immediately sent across the river in boats, & passing rapidly up until they presumed they were sufficiently high up to cut off the British scout, & then made for the ridge, where they captured all the tories & several Indians & carried them prisoners into the American camp.

Hawthorn Cottage Jan'y 1. 1838. Praise be to Almighty God I reached my beloved home at half past six this evening, & found my wife better & my son William well. I was but twelve hours in bed from the time I left Buffalo, during the six days I was on this journey; & all the other sleep I got was in the stages sleighs & rail-road cars. My health is slightly improved.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.



11

JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO CATTARAUGUS

TO ATTEND A COUNCIL OF THE SIX NATIONS OF
INDIANS, IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST,
1839, MADE BY

HENRY A. S. DEARBORN

JOURNAL KEPT BY H. A. S. DEARBORN, DURING HIS JOURNEY
TO CATTARAUGUS, TO ATTEND A COUNCIL OF THE SIX
NATIONS OF INDIANS, CONVENED TO MEET THE HON.
J. R. POINSETT, SECRETARY OF WAR, IN RELATION TO
A TREATY NEGOCIATED, WITH TRIBES, THE 15TH. OF
JANUARY 1838.

August 7. 1839. I left Boston in the Rail Road Cars at 4
oclock for Stonington where I arrived at nine oclock & went
on board a Steam-Boat, which left immediately for New
York.

My nephew William Raymond Lee accompanied me, for
the purpose of examining the rail-road from Albany on the
route to Buffalo & to see the country. He is the Superinten-
dent of the Boston & Providence Rail-Road.

Mr. N. Silsbee, of Salem late Senator from this state, in
Congress was on board the boat, having come round from
New port in her.

August 8. We reached New York at six oclock in the morning, & went directly on board one of the North River Steamers, bound to Albany, which left at seven. We had as fellow passengers, Genl. Morgan Lewis, Mr. Talmage, one of the U. S. Senators from the state of New York & his cousin Genl. Talmage with his celebrated beautiful daughter; & truly lovely in person & manners & mind she is. She has recently made the tour of Europe with her father & was universally admired as a brilliant sample of the American ladies.

Genl. Lewis was aid to Genl. Gates, in the campaign of Saratoga & confirms what my father often stated to me,—that Genl. Gates did not leave his quarters, situated in the rear of the American lines, during the actions of the 19th. of September & 8th of October. He is now 85 years of age, but is a vigorous, active & interesting old man. We reached Albany at seven oclock in the evening & put up at Congress Hall, near the State House.

August 9. Having learned that Genl. Scott had returned from a visit to the Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin & left yesterday morning for Saratoga Springs to join the Secretary of War & accompany him to Cattaraugus, & that they would not leave for several days I concluded to go on to the Springs & left Albany in the Rail-Road Cars at 6 oclock this morning. We breakfasted at Schenectada & reached Saratoga Springs at half past ten, having stoped a few moments at Ballstown, which I had not visited since I was there with my ever honored father a few years after the war. I think in 1817. Wherever I go I am continually reminded of my good & excellent & patriotic father. He was in so many conspicuous positions during the Revolutionary & last war & had such an extensive acquaintance, that either the places he was at, or meeting men who knew him continually remind me of him. He was a truly honest, & patriotic citizen; a just, kind-hearted & an inflexably faithful officer, & good man; a better never lived. True to his country, his friends, family & his God. May I emulate his virtues & meritorious conduct, in all respects. I found Genl. Scott at the United States Hotel, who informed me, that

Mr. Poinsett,* the Secretary of War had left the evening before for Buffalo, I therefore concluded to return to Schenectady & take the night train of cars to Utica.

The President of the United States, Martin Van Buren, being at the Springs I waited upon him with General Scott, at eleven & at twelve he left for Balstown on this way to Troy. I saw many friends at the Springs & among them the Honble. Abbot Lawrence, of Boston, Peleg Sprague late of the U. S. Senate, from Maine, & Mr. Taylor former Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Hon Henry Clay was to arrive at five from the North, having been via Buffalo, Ogdensburgh & Montreal to Quebec. There were at least 3,000 ladies & gentlemen at the Springs & I regretted that I could not witness the triumphal entry of the illustrious Statesman of the West & the Whig candidate for President; but as I was obliged to be in Buffalo by the 11th, it was necessary to take the four oclock cars for Schenectady, where we arrived at seven & took supper, & at nine departed in the western train for Utica.

August 10. We reached Utica at five & left at six for Syracuse, where we arrived at nine & took breakfast, but, to our regret, learned, that the Steam-boats United States & Great Britain had come in contact on Lake Ontario & so injured were both, that there would not be any boat from Oswego to Lewiston before the evening of the 11th. We therefore proceeded on to Auburn in the Cars & there took the mail Stage for Buffalo. My friend Samuel G. Perkins was with us, as far as Cayuga, being bound on an excursion for his health.

August 11. We rode all last night having taken tea at Canadagua & breakfasted at Batavia. We got to Buffalo

* Joel Roberts Poinsett (1778-1851) was a South Carolina statesman who held many legislative and diplomatic offices. During the War of 1812 he was sent by President Madison on a special embassy to South American countries, in an effort to establish more friendly relations between them and the United States. He served in Congress, was U. S. Minister to Mexico, 1825-29, and was Secretary of War during Van Buren's administration. Poinsett Barracks, for many years the military establishment in Buffalo—bounded by Main, Allen, Delaware and North streets—was named in his honor; as is also the popular scarlet-bracted Mexican flower, *Poinsettia pulcherina*, which he introduced in this country—for he devoted himself to natural history as well as to military and civic interests.

at two o'clock in the afternoon, having rode three days & two nights without a halt. I was much fatigued & had suffered during the whole ride from Schenectady, from a terrible head-ache.

On my arrival at Buffalo, I found Mr. Poinsett had not reached the city, at which intelligence I was much gratified for I feared I should be obliged to ride the third night, to be at Cattaraugus, in season to attend the Council, which had been ordered to convene on the 12th. I went to bed & slept until seven, then got up found my Indian friend, the Seneca Chief Hon-non-de-ah at the American Hotel, where I had taken rooms, & T. L. Ogden & brother & Mr. Fellows of Geneva the representatives of the preemptive owners of the Indian lands, also Mr. Wadsworth of Geneseo, son of the Patriarch of Western New York. Judge Stryker, Mr. Orlando Allen & Genl. Potter & Mr. Pratt the Mayor called on me.

August 12. I took pills last night, for I was feverish & my head in great pain; but I am better this morning. The Secretary of War arrived this morning, & had chartered a Steam-Boat to take us up Lake Erie to Cattaraugus Creek. We left at there o'clock, accompanied by Col. Bankhead & Capt Williams of the army, Mr. Krehmer, Secretary of the Russian Legation, many other gentlemen & several Indian Chiefs, from the Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora & Seneca tribes. The afternoon was calm & warm & the excursion over the lake delightful. We reached Irving at the mouth of Cattaraugus creek, just before sunset, & went to the Hotel to lodge. It is a small village of some ten or a dozen buildings. Piers are being erected at the mouth of the Creek, to make the entrance into the harbor easy & safe, & to deepen the channel, by compressing the water into a narrow bed. This is destined to be a large flourishing town, as the land is excellent, on the Cattaraugus Creek, & in the adjacent country, & when the Indians shall have been removed, the large tract of land they now occupy will be covered with luxuriant farms & a dense population. There were many Indians in the village.

August 13. I left Irving in a stage-coach, with the Sec-

Secretary of War & eleven other gentlemen & Indians for the Council House of the Cattaraugus band of Senecas, distant six miles. As three miles of the road was through a dense wood, & of the rudest kind, the carriage upset, by which I was injured in my head & right hip; but got into a little waggon & went on. One of the Indians had his cheek badly cut.

The Council was opened at eleven and addressed by the Secretary of War & myself. For the particulars of the proceedings see my official report to Governor Everett. There were present at the Council ten or twelve Quakers from Philadelphia & New York, who had been sent by the societies of Friends in those cities to prevent any improper efforts being made to induce the Indians to emigrate; a sort of self created kind of ministers, who presumed to take the Indians under their special protection. They had good motives for their conduct, but it was an act of officiousness, which our government excuses, for *here* all are *confident* of their right to *meddle*, in all *national* or *state* affairs. The *modest assurance* of Sectarians of all religious denominations is continually being evinced, in their resolutions, petitions to Congress, missions to all nations savage & civilized, and their impertinent efforts to regulate the conduct & manners of the whole people. They are now waging a war against *spirit, wine & beer*, & the slavery of the South. Each year brings some new object for their fanatical operations. May they ever be as harmless as we have experienced they were futile & ridiculous; but a time may come, when such officious & impertinent interference with state & national affairs, may lead to disastrous consequences.

August 14 I passed the night with the Reved. Mr. Bliss, the Missionary to this band of Senecas. The Council was opened at ten & the Chiefs of the Senecas, Tuscaroras, Cayugas, Oneidas & Onondagas, spoke against & in favor of emigration, to the number of fourteen, & then the Secretary of War informed them that he should report the result of the inquiries, he had made to the President, who would decide whether the treaties were to be carried into effect or not. I made a farewell speech & the Council was concluded

between three & four oclock. I dined with Mr. Bliss & he was so kind as to take me in his wagon down to Irving, at the mouth of Cattaraugus Creek, where I arrived a little before sunset.

Mr. Kurtz, Chief Clerk in the office of the Commissioner for Indian Affairs, having accompanied Mr. Poinsett to pay the annuities to the Indians, performed that duty at the Hotel in Irving & we left in the Steam-boat at eight oclock for Buffalo, where we arrived at midnight.

August 15. I attended a review of several Companies of Col. Bankhead's Regiment of Artillery, with the Secretary of War, Col. Worth Majr. Hitchcock & many other gentlemen & ladies. At four oclock in the afternoon we left Buffalo for Niagara Falls in the Rail-Road Cars, where we arrived at six. Went down to the bank of the river & had one look at the mighty Cataract, then went back to the Eagle Hotel to supper. I passed the evening at Genl. P. B. Porter's, where I met the Secretary of War, several officers of the American & some of the British Army & other company.

August 16. I went with my nephew William Raymond Lee across the Niagara, just below the falls, visited the Battle-Field of Lundy's Lane & Table Rock & then returned, when we walked round Goat Island, dined, & took our seats in the Rail-Road Cars for Lewiston, where we embarked on board the Steam Boat United States, for Oswego.

August 17. We left Lewiston at five oclock & owing to a head wind did not reach Oswego until 8 this morning, when we immediately took passage in a Canal Packet-Boat for Syracuse, where we arrived at five oclock in the afternoon; entered the Rail-Road Cars for Utica where we arrived at eight oclock & put up for the night; but the Secretary of War continued on to Schenectady being anxious to join the President at Saratoga Springs the 18th.

August 18th. We left Utica at eight oclock & reached Albany at five. I was pleased at finding the Hon. Henry Clay at the Eagle Hotel, where I put up & passed a portion of the evening in his room. He introduced me to Mr. Griffen of New York, a lawyer of eminence, who requested

me to go into his room, where he read an account of a visit to the Battle-Field of Saratoga, which he made with Mr. Clay & some 30 or 40 other gentlemen, & among them General Morgan Lewis who gave an account of the two battles, that was interesting. It was for publication & he promised to send me a paper in which it should be printed.

August 19. Left Albany in the Steam boat Erie, on board of which was Mr. Clay, who was met by a large Committee in a Steamer with a band of music some 20 miles above Poughkeepsie, who had been sent from that city to escort him to the landing where he was received by a vast assemblage of people. We reached New York at dark, & put up at the Astor House.

August 20. We are obliged to wait for the Steamer for Providence & took passage in the Massachusetts at five oclock. Wrote a report to the Governor during the forenoon.

August 21. Arrived in Providence at eleven oclock & reached home at one oclock.

H. A. S. DEARBORN.

Roxbury August 21. 1839.



NARRATIVES AND JOURNALS OF

PIONEER SURVEYORS

OF WESTERN NEW YORK, AND ADJACENT TRACTS
IN PENNSYLVANIA AND OHIO.

PAPERS RELATING
PIONEER SURVEYORS

- I. LIFE OF AUGUSTUS PORTER; BY CHARLES MULFORD
ROBINSON.
- II. EARLY LIFE OF AUGUSTUS PORTER, WRITTEN BY HIM-
SELF IN 1848.
- III. LETTERS OF AUGUSTUS PORTER.
- IV. LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF JUDAH COLT; WRITTEN BY
HIMSELF.
- V. JOSEPH LANDON'S REMINISCENCES.
- VI. SURVEY OF SOUTH SHORE OF LAKE ERIE, 1789.



AUGUSTUS PORTER.

FIRST JUDGE OF NIAGARA COUNTY, 1808.

FROM AN OIL PORTRAIT IN THE PORTER HOMESTEAD, NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

THE LIFE OF JUDGE AUGUSTUS PORTER

A PIONEER IN WESTERN NEW YORK

BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON
CHARLES MULFORD ROBINSON*

I. ANCESTRY.

Among the men firm of purpose and of indomitable courage who, before the dawn of the last century, strode down the rugged hillsides and crossed the pleasant valleys of New England and, coming to the borders of the river Hudson crossed to explore the country beyond, few names stand out with greater prominence than that of Augustus Porter. And few pioneers have formed a link so worthy between a brilliant future and a noble past.

Augustus Porter transplanted the virtue, valor, intellect,

* Charles Mulford Robinson, author of the accompanying biography of Judge Porter, is the son of Arthur and Jane H. (Porter) Robinson. Born at Ramapo, N. Y., in 1869, he graduated from the University of Rochester in 1891; from which year until 1902 he was one of the editors of the *Rochester Post-Express*, with intervals of foreign travel and continuous study of civic æsthetics. Since 1902 he has been secretary of the American Park and Outdoor Art Association. He is a member of numerous organizations which have for their aim architectural improvement, the beautifying of cities, and the betterment of conditions for many of the dwellers therein. He is well known as a writer on topics in his special field, notably so by his books on "The Improvement of Towns and Cities" and "Modern Civic Art." He resides in Rochester, where the biography of Judge Porter was originally printed and privately published, 1896, as a small book, in an edition of but fifty copies. It has now been revised by the author, for publication with Judge Porter's own narrative, in the present volume of the Buffalo Historical Society Publications.

and polish of a strong old race from stern New England to wild New York, just as his father's great-great-grandfather had brought it from England to New England nearly a hundred and fifty years before, and as, six centuries before that, William de la Grande had brought it in the train of William the Conqueror from France to England. That Norman knight had a son named Ralph, who, as gentleman of the bed chamber to King Henry I., was called "Grand Porteur." Thence came the family surname; and for twenty-one generations it had passed without a break to Augustus Porter, merely changing in the new world from chosen servant of king to elected servant of country.

The long line of generations, fully traced, reads now but as a list of names in which each life is reduced to the one great level; and one reads over and over, with only a change in the names and dates, the dull round—in which each event, however, has meant so much—"born, married, had issue, and died!" And yet there are some fine names on the list. Good lives must have been lived and brave deeds done, of which the story is now untold, between these single events on which the existence of posterity depends. There was the Norman knight, William de la Grande; there was Ralph, "Grand Porter" to King Henry, from 1120 to 1140; there was a John who was knight of Court lodge; there was another whose wife was Judith Wood, daughter of the secretary of King Henry VIII; there was Robert Dean of Lincoln; there was William, who was Henry the Seventh's sargeant at arms; there was a Sir William; and there was Endymion, a celebrated courtier of the time of Charles the First and gentleman of the bedchamber to the king.* And though not all of these are in the same line, many of them are; and they go back to the same ancestor, and their lives make the history of the Porter family in England. And they all have the same arms, the same crest, and motto:

* A portrait of Endymion (painted by Dobson) hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Following is part of the inscription below the portrait: "Endymion Porter, 1587-1649. Man of letters and patron of the fine arts. Born at Ashton near Campton in Gloucestershire. Entered the service of King James I., and attended Charles when Prince of Wales to Spain. Captain of the Seventh Regiment of Foot and appointed Governor of the Bedchamber to Charles I., whose confidential agent he became. * * *"

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PORTER ARMS AND CREST.

Arms—Sable, church bells, three, argent.

Crest—Between two pillars roofed and spired a church bell argent.

Motto—"Vigilantia et virtute."

It was from such stock as this that John Porter came, the first of the Porter emigrants to the new world. Of the company which he joined, a company that had made a settlement on the banks of the Connecticut and named it Windsor after journeying more than a hundred miles through the trackless wilderness from Massachusetts, Trumbull says: Many were "persons of figure, who had lived in England in honor, affluence and delicacy." And John Porter, no doubt, was such a man; for he not only held several offices, but his will, which has been printed in the public records of Connecticut, shows him to have been one of the wealthiest of the colonists. This John had twelve children, of whom all but two were born in England, for he is supposed to have come over in 1639. And when he died we know that to his son Samuel, who removed to Hadley and founded the long line of Porters there, a valuable lot was assigned in the center of the village. His grandson Samuel left "the immense estate of £10,000."

And so the Porters in the new world, foremost in all undertakings, came soon to illustrate the new kind of service of which we spoke—that of the people, instead of that of the king—and none of them proves this better than does the father of Augustus Porter. Dr. Joshua was a physician of the old school; he was a man of high and robust character; in times of peace a statesman-doctor, in days of war a soldier-doctor, a man who was always full of activity. Of the long life of Joshua Porter, he died at the age of 95, we have a full account. The records of the time are not silent regarding so prominent a personage, and these are supplemented by a sketch which he himself wrote, "August y^e 2d, 1820, I now being in y^e 91st year of my age." This sketch is printed in the appendix of the Porter Genealogy.

The main facts in the life of Augustus Porter's father, gathered from these and other sources, are as follows: Joshua Porter was born in Lebanon, Conn., June 26, 1730.

His father died when he was nine years old, and when his mother married again, five years later, Joshua chose as guardian his great-uncle, Peter Buell, Esq., of Coventry. With him he lived for the next five years, farming in the summers. Meanwhile Nathaniel, Joshua's older brother, had been at college, and when he took his degree, Joshua attended the commencement at New Haven. "I then determined," he writes, "to lay out y^e small patrimony left to me by my father in getting an education." Accordingly he studied with his brother, in the following year was admitted to Yale, and in 1755 was graduated. He then took up the study of medicine at Coventry, and at the end of the year 1757 he began to practice at Salisbury.* He continued a practicing physician for more than forty years, accumulating considerable property, which he invested in land. In Salisbury he came to hold about 240 acres, and the latter part of his life he devoted to farming more than to physic. His practice had been very extensive, and he was esteemed, says the "History of Litchfield County," "one of the most skillful physicians of his day." His treatment of smallpox throws light on his courage and progressiveness. This dread disease was the scourge of the colonies, and vaccination was undreamed of. In London, however, the practice of inoculating well persons with the disease, so inducing a mild attack and making them henceforth immune, was known. Dr. Porter purchased, to quote his own words, "Y^e skill of Dr. Burard of Elizabethtown in y^e Jerseys," and was himself inoculated. He tried to introduce the practice among his patients, but they objected so strongly that in 1761 he was even prosecuted for the attempt. By 1785 the people were sufficiently convinced to allow inoculation for a month.

The house which was built by Dr. Porter in 1774, and which was the boyhood home of Aug. Porter is still standing, in the center of the village on the main street. It is one and a half stories high, long and narrow. The roof is steep. The ridge pole runs the length of the house and there a

* This part of Salisbury is now known as Lakeville (Conn.). Porter and his relatives still reside there and among their number has been Governor Hollister of Connecticut.



HOMESTEAD OF COL. JOSHUA PORTER, LAKEVILLE, CONN., BUILT 1774.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1901.

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tall windows in the gables. Near each end rises a chimney of red brick. A wing ran back from the house and back of that there are the remains of an open shed with the old well in front of it. On the farm one may find what is still called the "Porter Pit," though iron is no longer drawn from it. In the days of the Revolution there were many active furnaces about it and of them all Joshua Porter was superintendent. It is said that at one of his furnaces was forged the anchor for the Constitution—"Old Ironsides."

The public life also of Joshua Porter was long and active. Two years after coming to Salisbury he was chosen lister, and was reappointed in each of the three following years. Then he became selectman, and was kept in this office for twenty years. In 1765 he was chosen representative to the general assembly, and was steadily re-elected for more than fifty years, including all the Revolutionary period. During that time he was a member of the committee on the pay-table, was lieutenant-colonel of the Fourteenth Connecticut regiment of militia, receiving his commission in May, 1774, and was agent to look after the first home made cannon and balls used in the war, those manufactured from the celebrated iron at Salisbury. At the battle of Saratoga, there being a scarcity of officers, Dr. Porter voluntarily led a regiment through the engagement; and then at its close attended in the hospital those who had been wounded in the fight. He was one of eleven to borrow from the colonial treasury of the state of Connecticut, on their individual obligation and security, money to defray the expenses of the Ticonderoga expedition. He had command of a regiment at Danbury, for six weeks at Peekskill, and at the capture of General Burgoyne. In 1777 he was appointed justice of the peace for the county of Litchfield, in 1778 was appointed justice of quorum holding the office until 1791, when he was made judge of the court. This position he held for 17 years, and for 37 years, in addition to his other offices and during his half-century membership in the general assembly, he was judge also of probate for the district of Sharon.

Nor was so old and prominent a family as the Porters without wide connections. Besides the Buell relatives in

Coventry there were relatives in Litchfield, probably in Boston, and in Hadley. In the latter place, as contemporaries of Dr. Joshua, we read of Squire Porter, of Lawyer Porter, and of the cousin Elizabeth Porter who married Charles Phelps and whose quaint journal has been published in "Under a Colonial Roof-Tree." These Porters of Hadley were prominent personages. The squire was high sheriff of the county and a colonel in the Revolutionary war, besides holding various other offices; and was rich. Lawyer Porter's wife was a daughter of Jonathan Edwards, and the best society of the time was at their command. There were many "tea drinkings" at the different Porter houses; there were frequent visits from Edwards, President Dwight, and at least one from Dr. Porter. Another distinguished guest was General Burgoyne. Squire Porter, as Yankee colonel, had been present at his surrender; and when the general, under escort of the colonel, was passing through Hadley after the event, the latter invited him to be his guest for two or three days. The courtesy was so appreciated by the British officer that when he departed he gave Porter his sword in recognition of the generous hospitality. In Hadley, by the way, the office of justice of the peace is said to have been held in this branch of the Porter family for two hundred years—an extraordinary record certainly, and one indicating confidence from the public and faithfulness to the interests of the community.

It was from such stock on his father's side that Augustus, destined to be the third of the Porter pioneers, was born. On his grandmother's side was the blood of Roger Williams; and his mother was Abigail Buell, the daughter of William Buell, who had come from Huntingdonshire in England seven years before the Porters had emigrated. The family in England, Buell there written Beville, was ancient and noble. William was almost certainly a younger son of Sir Robert, Knight of the Bath; and the family's ramifications are described as having extended through all the leading countries of Europe. Joshua Porter writes that with this member of it, he "lived with y^e greatest harmony and conubial state."



II. THE SURVEYOR.

Augustus Porter was born January 18, 1769, in his father's home at Salisbury, Connecticut, in the small county (Litchfield) of which it has been said that no other equal area in the United States has given to the world so many famous men; and among them he was to deserve, and be given, a place. Augustus Porter was the fourth in a family of six children: Joshua, Abigail, Eunice, Augustus, Peter B., and Sally. He acquired the rudiments of education in the common school of his native town, working on the farm in the summer. When he was 17 he studied surveying for a few months in Lebanon; but his tutor dying he had soon to return to his father's house. He was able, however, to gain some practical as well as theoretical knowledge of his chosen profession, and his keen ambition dissatisfying him with the narrow though busy life of a New England valley, Augustus Porter determined in 1789, when 20 years old, to leave home and to journey to the West. He joined a party from Sheffield, Massachusetts, and went to Ontario (then just taken from Montgomery) county in New York to survey lands in which his father held an interest.

Of this journey, his first into the wilderness of Western New York, we have from Augustus Porter himself a full and most interesting account. Part of it is printed in Turner's "Holland Purchase." His future companions were met in Schenectady early in May. The party was well provisioned and had two boats, each navigated by four men. The course from Schenectady was up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix (now Rome), the Little Falls being passed by a carry. At the fort there was another carry of about a mile to Wood creek. This is a very small stream, but at the portage there was a saw-mill dam which created a considerable pond. When full, its contents could be rapidly discharged, and upon the flood so occasioned the two boats were borne seven miles, to where Wood creek is joined by Canada creek. By means of the latter the travelers gained Oneida lake, and then, passing through that and its outlet, they came to Three River point. Thence the course was up the Seneca

river and Seneca outlet to Seneca lake at Geneva. The only interruptions were at Seneca Falls, and Waterloo (then known as Scoy's*). "At Seneca Falls," says the journal that Augustus Porter wrote long afterwards, "we passed our boats up the stream—empty, by the strength of a double crew, our loading being taken around by a man named Job Smith, who had a pair of oxen and a rudely constructed cart, the wheels of which were made by sawing off a section of a log some 2½ or 3 feet in diameter." Only three white persons were seen in the whole journey from Fort Stanwix to Geneva. The latter was then the most important of the western settlements and consisted of some six or seven families.

Leaving boats and cargoes at Geneva, the party divided, four of the leaders, including Porter, following the Indian trail, packs on backs, to Canandaigua. At this place, then called Kanandargua, there were ten or twelve persons, nearly all of whom had come out less than two weeks before. There were only four houses, and these were of logs.

From Canandaigua young Porter went direct to his destination, "township No. 10, fourth range," now East Bloomfield. With the necessary "hands and provisions" he made the survey of the town, and then passed to "township, No. 9, sixth range," now Livonia. This, he says, was one of the best in the Genesee country, but he declined to purchase when land there was offered to him at 20 cents an acre. Various towns were surveyed, Porter's business growing apace. It was rough, exciting work in that wild country; and there was at least one massacre by Indians, the sufferers being a small surveying party like Porter's, and only a short distance from his.

Several years were spent in this work. In the fall Porter generally returned to Connecticut, spending the winter in writing out his field notes at his father's house in Salisbury. Each spring he would return to "the West," generally making the journey each way by the water route. Once, in December, he went on foot; and once, in February, in a two-horse sleigh. Of the foot journey his record merely

* Also spelled Scoyase.

says that it "was very tedious," owing to the depth of the snow. He had three companions and whenever practicable the party made use of snowshoes. It was on one of these long trips, in the spring of 1790 that Augustus Porter, westward bound, first met James Wadsworth, who was also going west to occupy property at Geneseo. It was on Wood creek, the little stream navigable only by a flood from the mill-dam, that the strange meeting took place. Occasionally these floods proved insufficient to carry a boat through to deep water, and in that case there was nothing to do but to wait for a second moving of the waters. As Porter and his party were coursing down the stream, they came upon a grounded boat the navigators of which were standing in the water, ready to start with the coming tide, and one of these navigators was Wadsworth. He had been held on a snag for three days. L. L. Doty, in his "History of Livingston County, New York," says in describing the meeting that Augustus Porter "took part of Mr. Wadsworth's cargo on his boat, and so far reduced the burthen that little trouble was now experienced in getting it again afloat." Wadsworth at this time was 22 years old—fifteen months older than Porter, and they journeyed together to Canandaigua. So began a friendship that the families have continued through several generations.

In 1794 Porter was one of the witnesses who signed the treaty that resulted from the last general council of the United States with the Iroquois Confederacy. This was at Canandaigua, and a boulder and tablet placed in the public square in 1902 commemorate the spot and give his name.

Porter spent seven summers in the Genesee country as a surveyor for various of the original purchasers of this wilderness of Western New York. His employers had bought the land from the state of Massachusetts; and he made some of the earliest private surveys. He also acted, he says in his journal, as assistant surveyor to Andrew Ellicott, surveyor-general of the United States, in running the line from Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario; and his business extended to the survey of all the lands lying west of Seneca lake, first the property of Phelps and Gorham and then of Robert Morris,

and known later as the "Holland Purchase." He also examined, for Mr. Wadsworth, some property in Northern New York, north of Schenectady, and made a brief trip by water to Virginia. On his own account he purchased considerable land in Western New York, of which the possession of greatest interest was the part ownership of a tract of 20,000 acres which included the site of much of the present city of Rochester. In 1795, too, he purchased a considerable tract about six miles northeast of the present village of Avon and half a mile west of Honeoye Falls.

The following winter he apparently spent, as he did so many, at home in old Connecticut, and his success as a surveyor and prosperity in the West seem to have given tenderer thoughts a chance in his young heart. At any rate, on March 10, 1796, Augustus Porter was married to Lavinia Steele, of Hartford. She was the daughter of Timothy Steele, and some two years Porter's junior. She was of a good family, her great-great-great-grandfather Steele having come from England in 1636; and Governor Bradford, who came in the "Mayflower," was one of her direct ancestors. Porter now had a house in Canandaigua, and thither he took his brave young bride by sleigh.

In 1796 the Connecticut Land Company employed Augustus Porter as chief surveyor, with a corps of more than fifty assistants, to make the first survey ever made in lands situated on the south shore of Lake Erie, called the "Western Reserve," and recently sold by the state to this copartnership. The unbroken wilderness was occupied by hostile Indians, but the dauntless pioneer, only 26 years old, accomplished his task, and laid out and named, among other towns, that which is now the city of Cleveland, choosing the name in compliment to the party's managing agent, General Moses Cleaveland. The party had left Hartford on the twelfth of May, and first reached the Western Reserve, at its northeastern corner on the shore of the lake—at Conneaut—on July 4th. They celebrated the double event with salutes and toasts.

Amzi Atwater, one of the assistants on this survey, has described his chief. He says that Augustus Porter "was full

middling in height, stout built, with a full face and dark, or rather brown, complexion. In a woodman's dress, anyone would see by his appearance that he was capable and determined to go through thick and thin in whatever business he was engaged. By the bursting of a gun he had lost the entire thumb of his left hand." Porter received for his services as principal surveyor five dollars a day.

The expedition was naturally not without exciting adventures. Four batteaux, purchased at Schenectady for the transportation of men and stores, were manned by the surveyors.* Following the usual water route from Schenectady the party gained Oneida lake, and thence, by way of the Oswego river reached Lake Ontario. On the Mohawk a man was lost overboard and drowned; and at Oswego the British, who were in possession, declined to let the party pass. But Porter was not so easily stopped. Returning a short way up the stream, the men waited until night. Then, under cover of the darkness, the boats floated down the river and passed the fort unperceived. A little later this post, as well as that at Niagara, was surrendered under the stipulation of Jay's treaty, and the party had no difficulty in passing the latter fort, nor in returning. By Lake Ontario the party reached the Niagara river. This was followed to Queens-town, where the long, hard carry commenced, past the lower and upper rapids of Niagara and the falls, to where Chipewewa now is. Through all this distance and over the carries on the Mohawk the same batteaux were borne. By the upper Niagara, Lake Erie was gained; and in order to ascertain the amount of land embraced in the Reserve it was necessary to traverse the whole southern shore of the lake, from the eastern to the western boundaries of the territory, a distance of 120 miles. This Augustus Porter did himself.

In 1797-'98 Porter, whose reputation was now wide, was employed by Robert Morris, the Revolution's financier, to lay down the boundaries of the lands west of the Genesee river, the Indian title to which Morris had lately obtained. This

* A batteau has been defined by Thoreau as a cross between a boat and a birch canoe. It was perhaps 24 feet long and four feet wide, flat bottomed, lightly but strongly built, with a flare upward for seven or eight feet at each end.

whole country was very much of a wilderness, though scarcely to be compared in that respect to the Western Reserve. In getting to Buffalo, where there was a British Indian interpreter, an Indian trader, and two white families, the route was along the lake, chiefly on the beach, as no road had been built; and in returning an Indian trail was followed as far as where Avon is now situated. In all that distance there was only one dwelling house, and the living, of course, was very rude for the surveying parties. Bear meat, cooked on the end of a pointed stick held over the fire, was one of the delicacies that Augustus Porter used to tell of long afterwards.

Doubtless he tried to be in Canandaigua as much as possible, where his home, wife, and child were; but work still kept him much away, for in addition to the surveying he began now the development of his own landed property. The child, Augustus S., had been born January 18, 1798. In the winter of 1799, Augustus Porter went to New England for a few weeks, and on his return with his sister Eunice in March, he found his wife "languishing and sick on her death-bed." She died four days after his return, though she had been ill less than a week when he reached her. He at once, with his sister and the little boy, took the journey back to Salisbury and Hartford. Some eighteen months before that his mother had died. In May, Augustus Porter returned again to the West accompanied once more by his sister, who was a widow, and who stayed for a year and a half, caring for his house.

In 1800 Augustus Porter, in the development of his own property, ploughed and sowed with wheat forty acres of the tract which he had purchased some years before near Honeoye Falls. This, it is recorded, then gave conclusive evidence of having been the site of a large Indian village, embracing the burying ground within its limits. So numerous were the graves that it was necessary to level the earth with the spade before teams could pass over it, and nearly 1,000 pounds weight of hatchets, bits of brass kettles, gun barrels, locks, leads, etc., were found.

In January, 1801, Augustus Porter went to Blooming





JANE HOWELL PORTER.

WIFE OF JUDGE AUGUSTUS PORTER.

FROM AN OIL PORTRAIT IN THE POSSESSION OF HER GRAND-DAUGHTER, MRS. JANE M. ROBINSON.

Grove in Orange county, and there, on the 24th of the month, he married Jane Howell whose brother* had been for six years a resident of Canandaigua. Jane was the only daughter of Hezekiah Howell, and her family too was old and distinguished. Her great-great-grandfather, Edward Howell, had come to Boston from England in 1639, the same year, curiously enough, in which John Porter—the first of the Porter emigrants—came over. He was the leader of the new settlement of Southampton, Long Island, was a magistrate, and served until his death as a member of the colonial legislature at Hartford. The old stone manor house of the Howell family, in Marsh Gibbon, Buckinghamshire, still stands; and is known to have been occupied in 1536, by Howells that preceded Jane by six generations.

Augustus Porter took his bride to Canandaigua, to a house which he had built the year before, situated opposite to the Academy. And from the time she joined him he took a more active part in public affairs and less, it seems, in surveying. For the lot on which the house stood Porter paid, in 1799, \$1000. If uniform with the other Phelps and Gorham lots in Canandaigua, it contained about 40 acres, fronting 380 feet on Main street and extending seven-eighths of a mile back, to the corporation line.

On October 24, 1801, Jane Porter bore to Augustus a son, who was named Albert Howell, his Christian name having been chosen in honor of Albert Gallatin. In the next year Porter was awarded the contract for carrying the mails from Utica to Fort Niagara. It was a stage line now, and the route was the usual one to Buffalo, and thence down the river, by the old portage road, to the fort. In the fall of that year he was elected to the state legislature from the counties of Ontario and Genesee, serving as one of the three assemblymen for all that region in the session of 1803. Thus the year 1802 was notable to Augustus Porter as marking his

* Judge Howell, who three years before had married Sally Chapin, youngest daughter of General Israel Chapin. In 1799 he had built the house later known as the Howell Homestead. On the opening of Howell street it was moved to Dungan street, where it still stood a hundred years later, in fragments, forming two houses. It had a fine drawing room, and in its large kitchen tradition says "more matches were made than in any other five houses in town."

LIFE OF AUGUSTUS PORTER.

st appearance in the transportation business, and his first
ection to public office.

There was probably little feeling of loneliness for these
pioneers in Canandaigua, for in addition to his own family,
and the family of his brother-in-law, and the wide acquaint-
ance that his eminence as a surveyor had gained for him,

Augustus Porter had with him also his own brother, Peter
Buell Porter, who had come to Canandaigua in 1795, and
had settled there in the practice of law.

Peter B. Porter, the junior of Augustus by fourteen
years, had been graduated from Yale in 1791, and had then
gained his professional education with Judge Reeves, of
Litchfield, Conn., a very famous advocate. Judge Reeves, of
by the way, was a brother-in-law of Aaron Burr. The build-
ing in which he held his renowned law school still stands in
Litchfield, and the youthful autographs of Calhoun, Pier-
pont, and others are said to be visible cut in its small square
panes. The young pioneer-barrister, whose name was soon
to become so famous in the annals of his country, took
once a high position in the new settlement. The year of his
arrival he was counsel at Canandaigua in the first trial in
court of record in Western New York. Two years later
was appointed clerk of Ontario county, and in 1801
Augustus Porter his deputy; in 1802 he served in the legis-
lature as an assemblyman for the counties of Ontario
Steuben, and retired at the close of the session only that
brother might be elected to succeed him, as has been already
told.

In Peter B. Porter's appearance in the first jury trial
west of Herkimer county there were coincidences which
came to be of unusual family interest. He had been admitted
to practice in the courts of Ontario county at the same time
with Nathaniel W. Howell, afterwards judge, who was his
sister-in-law's brother. This first trial by jury, which was on
an indictment for stealing a cowbell, took place just after
their admission, and the very year that Peter B. Porter ar-
rived. The prosecution was managed by Nathaniel V.
Howell and the defense by Peter B. Porter and Vince
Matthews, the latter already a distant cousin, and destin-

to be yet more closely connected as the father-in-law of one of the nephews of the former! In 1804 Peter B. Porter was connected with another interesting case, when he was associated with Red Jacket, the Indian orator, in defense of an Indian charged with the murder of a white man near Buffalo.

On May 7, 1806, another son was born to Augustus Porter, and this child was named Peter Buell, for the young lawyer. Early in June of the same year the family removed to Niagara Falls. After the fashion of those days Porter, though well off, was his own teamster, coming to his new home with whip and reins in hand. The weather was favorable, but four or five days were needed for the journey, and it must have been a rough one for a mother with a month old child. The house at Canandaigua was sold to John Greig, who, having studied law in Judge Howell's office, had entered into partnership with him in 1804. Just thirty years afterwards, the princely "Greig Hall" having been completed, the Porter residence was donated to the Episcopal church for a parsonage and was removed to Gibson street where, very little modernized, it was still standing in 1896, good it was thought for another century. The church had sold it to Edward G. Tyler, the retired principal of Ontario Female Seminary and his family still owned it. Lafayette was a guest at the house in 1825.

With the trip to Niagara closes definitely the first phase in the already changing life of Augustus Porter. He is no more the pioneer-surveyor; but becomes, for a time, the business man.

III. THE BUSINESS MAN.

Although for some years Augustus Porter had been settled quietly in Canandaigua, early busied in the management of the Phelps estates and later with the care of his own considerable landed interests, it is his departure from that village which marks most definitely the abandonment of the old professional, roving life of the surveyor. Dangers had been bravely faced, hardships triumphantly overcome, and the surveyor's chain, with which he had so girdled and

shackled the wilderness, had brought to him special prominence, fortune, and fame. And now the chief settlement of the Western frontier, the home of eight years, the starting point and the terminus of so many expeditions, was abandoned, and a new life far from kindred and friends was taken up, in this early summer of 1806: The life of an energetic man of business, in the heart of a new wilderness.

Behind this trip to Niagara and the change of residence, lay commercial enterprise of unusual boldness and foresight. The two brothers, Augustus and Peter, had become convinced that a great industrial future lay before the region surrounding Niagara and they had combined to purchase, with Benjamin Barton and Joseph Annin, from the state of New York, a large tract of land, with the waterpower, adjacent to and above the falls of the river.

The story of the purchase, as it comes to us now, is rather perplexing. It seems that in 1803 the state had employed Annin, who was Barton's uncle, to survey a mile strip along the Niagara river from Fort Niagara to Black Rock, cutting the whole into farm lots, except the already surveyed Stedman farm and considerable plots at the termini. This "mile strip" was state land to which the Indian right, as far north as the Stedman farm, had been extinguished by a deed from the Senecas dated August 20, 1802. It had never been included in the lands of the Holland Company and is interesting as the only land that the state received in the settlement of the conflicting claims of Massachusetts in 1786.

When the land had been surveyed by Annin, it was offered for sale by the land commissioners in February, 1805, at their office in Albany at public auction; and at the same time announcement was made that the state would lease, for the smallest number of years, the landing places at the ferry (Black Rock) and Lewiston (these involving transportation facilities), and the three undivided plots at the farm and termini. That the Porters, Barton, and Annin attended this sale, pooled their interests, took the lease, and purchased four surveyed lots which gave them possession of the land immediately about and above the falls, all authorities agree. The lots were numbered 41, 42, 43, 44; and

their acreage is given, respectively, as 182, 19, 100, 100. The smallest lot, 42, was that in the corner of the tract, bordering the rapids and extending to the brink of the falls. Lot 41 was back from the river and was long and narrow. Lot 44 extended to the Stedman farm. Now this public sale took place in 1805; but as the patents, still owned in the family, bear various later dates, the supposition is that the patents were not at once demanded, perhaps because the terms of the sale permitted deferred payments, though none of the accounts suggest this. In the *Guide to Niagara* written by George W. Holley, who is considered an authority on the history of this region, it is expressly stated that the lands were thus purchased "in 1806," which is manifestly wrong. Albert H. Porter, who would be expected to know, says with some vagueness in a pamphlet history of Niagara, "In the year 1805 the state of New York first offered the lands along the Niagara river for sale, and Augustus and Peter B. Porter, and Benjamin Barton, and Joseph Annin, jointly, purchased largely of the lands at Lewiston, Niagara Falls, Black Rock, and elsewhere along the river." Further on he adds that Augustus Porter "built a saw mill and blacksmith's shop on the joint property" "early in 1805." Maps and original patents now in the possession of Peter A. Porter, however, give these definite dates: Lot 41, Porter and Barton, December 8, 1809; lots 42, 43, Porter, Augustus, and Barton, Benjamin, June 27, 1814. The probable explanation is that the Porters, Barton, and Annin, attending the sale in 1805, contracted for the purchase of the four lots, and thereby became their virtual, though not actual, owners; that they at once complied with the terms of the sale for 44, and began improvements upon it, but that the other lots were acquired by deferred payments. Or, it is possible, of course, that the purchasers may have made at once full payment for all the land, but may not have demanded the patents, considering the fulfilled contracts, the land warrants and receipts for the payments, as good as the patents themselves. The latter papers would not have been needed until the owners wished to sell, mortgage, or lease.

At any rate a blacksmith shop and sawmill were built in

1805, and the following year Augustus Porter moved his family to Niagara Falls. From the Genesee river as far west as Batavia the travelers found the country considerably opened, but from that point the settlements were very sparse. There were five or six families at Lewiston, and a couple at Schlosser's landing, which is about two miles above the Niagara cataract, but no one at the falls. Porter took his family to the old Stedman house, which stood a short distance down the river from Schlosser's, and that served as their home until the autumn of 1808. The region when they arrived was still so wild that bears were common in the forests and wolves too numerous for several years to make it possible to keep sheep. At night the howling of the wolves around the house was a familiar sound. Wild geese and duck abounded on the river, eagles nested above the falls, the land was infested with rattlesnakes, and deer were often seen on Goat Island. Of the erections early made by the French and English and long since abandoned, the Stedman house into which the Porters moved, was alone unruined. It had served at one time as the mess house of the little English fort.

With the lands that Augustus Porter and his associates bought from the state they took also the lease that was offered. It gave them the exclusive right of transporting property across the portage; but the conditions were that they should build warehouses, provide teams, meet every demand for transportation at reasonable rates, and that all improvements at the end of thirteen years should revert to the state. In this transportation business Augustus Porter at once engaged. Benjamin Barton settled at Lewiston, and under the management of the firm Porter, Barton & Co., the carrying business soon assumed large proportions. The firm built and retained the ownership of vessels on Lakes Erie and Ontario, supplied the military posts along the Great Lakes, as far as Mackinaw, Chicago, and Fort Wayne, and with a monopoly of the transportation by this favorite route handled nearly all the business of the American fur companies and the large Indian traders. Among their most regular clients in this way was the original John Jacob Astor,

dozens of whose business letters to them are still in existence. The firm was in friendly association with Matthew McNair of Oswego and Jonathan Walton & Co. of Schenectady and is said by Turner and other authorities to have been "the first regular and connected line of forwarders that ever did business from tidewater to Lake Erie on the American side of the Niagara river."

The contract for supplying the frontier posts had been entered into with the United States Government by Augustus Porter and Messrs. Norton and Phelps during the last years of Porter's residence in Canandaigua. The execution of the contract was continued during the war of 1812, Porter rather than the firm having the immediate interest, since the contract had passed into his hands alone in 1810. The original is now in the possession of Peter A. Porter. It bears the date of Dec. 30, 1800, and is made out as between Augustus Porter and William Eustis (Secretary of War) "for and on behalf of the United States of America." The articles of agreement for the period from June 1, 1812, to May 31, 1813, provide the following prices: Rations to be issued at Niagara and its dependencies, 14 cents; at Detroit and its dependencies, 15 cents; at Fort Wayne, 15 cents; at Michilimackinack, 16 cents, 5 mills; at Chicago, 18 cents, 5 mills; "at all other places in the state of Ohio and Indiana Territory, north of 41 degree of latitude, and in the territory of Michigan," 14 cents. For rations issued to troops on the march in these territories, the price would, however, be augmented as the Secretary of War saw fit. "When the price of the ration is 14 cents, the component parts thereof shall be: For meat, 5 cents; bread and flour, 5 cents; liquor, 3 cents; small parts, 1 cent."

The story of the operations of the first Porter, Barton & Co., is full of interest. It brings out at once the crude conditions of the pioneer days, and is that which must at this time most have engaged the thoughts of Augustus Porter. Briefly the extent of the firm's operations and its commercial importance have been already stated. Its monopoly was bought of the state at auction, and though the firm was much talked of and—like all monopolies—sometimes abused, it has

been said of it that it "never wanted in efficiency or in prompt and honorable dealings." Goods in transit to the West were taken by team, through Porter, Barton & Co.'s connections, from Albany to Schenectady; thence by boats to Oswego Falls; around those falls by a portage; thence by boats to vesels at Oswego, and in them to Lewiston. Later on, when the firm owned most of the boats on Lake Ontario, the carrying trade even from Oswego was in its own hands. At Lewiston the goods were unloaded from the boats by Porter, Barton & Co. and taken by team over the Portage road to Schlosser. This was the road built by William Stedman in 1763 for the English troops. Then, as now, it first zig-zagged up the mountain ridge, where the heaviest goods were raised or lowered in a sliding car moved on an inclined plane by a windlass. This car, by the way, is said to have been the first adaptation of the crude principle of a railroad in the United States, for it ran over wooden rails on broad runners. But the device considerably antedated Porter, Barton & Co.'s use of it, for even before the Revolution the English had employed it, and Indians had been often hired to operate the windlass. From the top of the ridge the road followed the river to the site of the present railroad bridges, thence diverging to meet the river again near the Stedman house, well above the Falls.

The teams on the portage were generally a yoke of oxen, of which the company owned three. There was originally one trip each day, and the usual load from Lewiston to Schlosser was twelve barrels of salt, or its equivalent. As business increased the company employed all teamsters who offered, and these frequently used horses which would draw seven barrels when the road was good. At Schlosser the firm built a warehouse, as it had done at Lewiston. The freight was put into large Durham boats at Schlosser, and thence was carried up the river to Black Rock. The method of propelling the boats—which were open—was the familiar but tedious one of poling in going up the river. Men on the two sides of the boat walked with poles to their shoulders from bow to stern, repeating the process all the long way. Coming down the stream the current propelled

and the boats were guided by oars. The company owned four or five of these vessels, and each could carry from 125 to 150 barrels of salt. At Black Rock the company built another warehouse, probably in 1815, near the foot of what is now called Breckenridge street. But in the earlier days piers were sunk at Bird island—which has now been taken away, but which lay just above the rapids—and on them a third large warehouse was erected. It was this which was used before the war of 1812. But when the company first commenced its business, as a preliminary step it sank, in 1807, a pier in the bay or eddy below Bird island and constructed a warehouse on the island. This is of interest because it was the first step toward harbor improvements in either Buffalo or Black Rock, and was taken, it should be noted, by a private corporation.

In getting the boats up the Black Rock rapids it is recorded that there were three methods: The first, and probably the rarest, was by natural wind; the second was by the "ash breeze," which meant propulsion by oars; and the third was the "horn breeze," which was a team of from six to twelve yoke of oxen, which drew the boat up by a hawser attached to its mast. That there was no lack of business is shown by the fact that during the navigable season from 15,000 to 18,000 barrels of salt were transported, besides other merchandise, and the military stores for the posts. The Black Rock was the great salt exchange—a sort of commercial center in the later days when there were merchants enough to make a center—and even in early times traders were there from Pittsburg, and the captains and boatmen of vessels which carried the salt West. Porter, Barton & Co.'s charges for transportation were: Salt, Lewiston to Black Rock, 7s. per barrel; Schlosser to Black Rock, 3s. Freight, Lewiston to Black Rock, 6s. per cwt. up.

It is noted that one boat was lost, of 20 tons, loaded with salt. It got into the strong current between Grand and Navy islands, on its way up stream, and was carried over the falls. Only one man was saved, and he escaped by getting on to Goat island. Another vessel's figurehead, representing

General Peter B. Porter, is now in the rooms of the Buffalo Historical society.

A year after Augustus Porter had settled at Niagara, in 1807 therefore, the firm erected a grist mill at the Falls with two runs of stones. It was the first to be established there and in order to raise its frame all the able-bodied citizens of the neighborhood were insufficient, so that a company of forty soldiers had to be brought from Fort Niagara. It proved an expensive arrangement, however, for it is recorded that before they left, the soldiers stripped the garden of its fruit—and the fruit was particularly abundant and fine.

In 1808, on March 11, the county was organized (carved out of Genesee), and called Niagara. It embraced what is now Erie county and the first courts were held in Landon's tavern in Buffalo. Fifteen days after the organization of the county, Augustus Porter was appointed the first judge. Hence arose the prefix by which his contemporaries always called him thereafter, and by which he is described by historians, public and private. It was a title which suited well his rather reserved and, in the old style, dignified manner; and accorded with the awe and respect with which his neighbors always regarded him. The appointment was made by the Governor, and Porter's associates were: Erastus Granger and Samuel Tupper of Buffalo; Joseph Brooks of Cattaraugus, and Zathe Cushing of Chautauqua.

In the same year, 1808, Judge Porter erected a dwelling of his own, on the site of the present homestead, which is nearer the falls than was the Stedman house, and thither removed his family. This house, though only one-half the width of the present structure, was the most splendid in this Western region. It was built of brick, which in itself was a distinction. The bricks were made on the spot. The cut stone for the window sills and the marble for the fire-places was brought all the way from Albany on sleighs, and the glass for the windows came from Pittsburg. The location, too, was superb, chosen not for a generation, but forever. The garden behind the house sloped down to the famous rapids. From the windows of the structure one might see

them, or one might look up the river to where it stretched smooth and broad as a lake, or down to where the spray cloud hung above the falls; while through closed doors and windows the roar of the cataract came, like lulling music. In the heart of the wilderness the mighty river made a clearing; the stillness was filled as though with the voice of God; and over the opposite trees, that dipped uncut branches to the rushing waters, the sun set in rare radiance and glory. Never did pioneer find grander spot than this in which to build his habitation.

A road corresponding to the present street ran by the house. Opposite an orchard of small fruit was planted, and just above an apple orchard. A portion of the latter is still standing, the gnarled old trees having lived through the war of 1812 and later through the advance, which is often more destructive than an enemy's to them, in property values. Over what was to become the village of Niagara Falls the large forest trees were pretty well cut down before 1812, but young trees and undergrowth, particularly near the river, grew very thick and close, quite down to the falls. On the Canadian side there was a great cedar swamp, and cedars grew below the falls on the steep banks of the river. All along up the river, on both sides of the road, Augustus Porter had, or came to have, farming interests as the land was cleared. It was necessary of course to raise everything required for home consumption, and he had not only his own family for which to provide, but a very large force of men engaged in the various works in which he and the firm had an interest. It was necessary, too, as far as possible, to raise supplies for the posts which he was under contract to care for.

In 1805 or 1806 Augustus Porter had succeeded in getting upon Goat Island. The access was from the river above, through the still water between the divided currents. There were old dates upon the trees then, the oldest as early as 1769, and at the upper end there was a clearing of three or four acres that had been made by Captain Stedman, the English pioneer, as a pasture for goats. This gave the island its name, which the treaty of Ghent vainly, but more prettily,

remade Iris. In 1811 Augustus Porter, with his brother Peter, who in the previous year had become a resident of Black Rock, made an attempt to buy Goat Island from the State; but the attempt was unsuccessful, the legislature declining at that time to give its consent. The quaint petition which Augustus Porter sent to the legislature is as follows:

To the Honorable the Legislature of the State of N. Y. in Senate and Assembly Convening:

The petition of the subscriber humbly sheweth—That your petitioner is an inhabitant of the town of Cambria in the county of Niagara. That his place of residence is surrounded by a large body of unsettled lands, which are likely to remain so for some time, which afford a shelter for wolves and other wild animals owing to which the raising of sheep is rendered extremely difficult. That in the Niagara river directly opposite to the residence of your petitioner there is a small island owned by the people of the State, called Goat Island, containing as your petitioner believes, about 100 acres, where sheep might be with great safety kept. Your petitioner therefore prays that your honorable body will pass a law authorizing the commissioners of the land office to sell to your petitioner this said island at a fair price to be ascertained by appraisal, or in such other way as your honorable body in your wisdom may deem proper. And your petitioner as in duty bound will ever pray.

AUGUSTUS PORTER.

February 23, 1811.

The report of the surveyor general on this petition was made in the following words:

The surveyor general on the petition respectively reports:

That the petitioner is settled on the shore of the Niagara river opposite to an island of about 100 acres called Goat Island, which he is desirous of obtaining for the purpose of keeping sheep free from wolves and other wild animals, which on account of the country it is difficult to do. This island is about seven chains from the east shore with its lower end butted on the precipice, over which the Niagara

river falls at the great cataract. On account of the great velocity of the current which descends to the island and sweeps its sides the passage to and from it is difficult and considered so dangerous that few have attempted it. The petitioner, however, thinks that by means of projections from the shore he can lessen the difficulty and danger of the passage, and is willing for the privilege he prays for, to pay the State a reasonable addition to what he appraised as its fair value.

From the circumstances stated it must be evident that the value of the island must very materially depend on its being an appendage to the estate on the shore directly opposite to it.

Should the legislature judge proper to authorize a grant of it to the petitioner it ought to be with the proviso that the Indian title to it be first extinguished.

Respectfully submitted.

SIMEON DE WITT,
Surveyor General.

22 February, 1811.

The legislature, however, declined to authorize the sale, on the ground that the island would be soon needed either for a state prison or a state arsenal. But Judge Porter still raised sheep and did not relinquish his hope of securing it.


About the time that Judge Porter built his house he constructed a large rope-walk, to manufacture rigging for the British and American vessels on the lakes. The hemp for this purpose was raised by the Wadsworths on the flats of the Genesee river. Other improvements soon followed, as a tannery, a carding and cloth dressing establishment, several shops, a comfortable log tavern (on the site of the present International hotel), and a number of dwelling houses. But the country was not very healthy, and the improvements came slowly.

De Witt Clinton, making a trip through Western New York in 1810, notes in his journal that "the Messrs. Porter bought 1000 acres on the Ridge Road, a few miles from Lewiston, for 12 shillings an acre, from the Holland Land Company, for that purpose [hemp land] and are now drain-

ing it with great facility." He speaks elsewhere of spending three nights at Judge Porter's, and says, "I felt the agitation of the falls in slightly shaking Judge Porter's house, after I had retired to bed." Of the village, "one quarter of a mile above the falls and three quarters of a mile from Fort Schlosser," he remarks: "It was established by Porter, Barton & Co., and is the best place in the world for hydraulic works. Here is a carding machine, a grist mill, a rope walk, a bark mill, a tannery, a post office, tavern and a few houses. An acre lot sells for \$50. The rope walk is six fathoms long; is the only establishment of the kind in the western country, and already supplies all the lake navigation." He says that the hemp cost \$380 a ton and that the tar was brought from New York. Clinton went from Lewiston to Fort Niagara, to quote him again, on "the brig Ontario, of 90 tons, belonging to Porter, Barton & Co." it being on its way to Oswego. "This is a handsome vessel, cost \$5,000, can carry 420 barrels of salt, and is navigated by a captain and seven men."

The family life passed quietly before the war, with no special incident—so far as is now remembered—to mark the passage of the busy years except the birth, September 7, 1810, of a daughter, Lavinia E., the first girl child to be born to Augustus Porter. The older boys, Augustus and latterly Albert, went to school at Lewiston in the early days, making the seven-mile journey each way, by the Portage road, on horseback through the woods.

The Indians roamed freely about the country, but Porter, through fearlessness of them, had gained their respect, and it was at this time that they began the custom of coming frequently to his house as guests, sometimes spending the nights as well as parts of the days. Often they came to demand "fire water," the curse of the Indian race, but they knew that they could have it only on the condition, clever and humorously stern, that they first drink a certain measured and wondrous quantity of cold water—after which they might have all the whisky that they wanted! Among the Indians who thus visited the family, one of the most cordially welcomed, and perhaps the most frequent in late years, was the great Seneca chief and orator, Red Jacket.



Iron Planter and Farmer's Brother were other visitors and they all had a name for Judge Porter which meant "The Chain Bearer," given perhaps when he surveyed the "Gore" between the Seneca reservation and Lake Erie; for on that trip Judge Porter was accompanied by Red Jacket and caught-juh-quatty, the chiefs whom the Senecas had appointed to show the line.

The writer recalls a favorite story of his grandfather, Albert H. Porter, which well illustrates the freedom with which the Indians walked about Judge Porter's house. The youthful Albert (he could have been hardly more than six or seven years old at the time) came home from school very hungry, and, childlike, began to call through the house for his mother. Getting no response he started through the passage which led from the library to the kitchen, and in that dark place he came suddenly against a tall Indian. The sight appeased his wants more effectually than bread and butter could have done and he beat a precipitate retreat which left the Indian in possession of the field.

In 1808 a log school was built at Niagara, and this marked the beginning of the common school system there. Of its rude structure and furniture, and the quaint, interesting old schoolmaster—a disappointed bachelor who was wont absentmindedly to soliloquize aloud in school about his only love—Albert H. Porter has given a description in his pamphlet on Niagara Falls in the seventy years from 1805 to 1875. There also we learn how slight were the religious privileges of the family. "Probably not a half-dozen public religious services were ever held here previous to the close of the war in 1815," and these were conducted by earnest, surprising, but uncultivated Methodist pioneers, who in post-revolutionary times tried to keep step with the westward march of settlement with the same zeal that the early French Jesuits had shown for the Indians.

On September 1, 1812, a fourth son was born, and he was named Nathaniel Howell, for his uncle, the Judge, at Manandaigua. The child lived only one year, dying on the 27th of September, 1813.

IV. IN THE WAR OF 1812.

We come now to the war: Previous to 1812 itself few warnings probably reached the wilderness around Niagara of the great conflict that was so seriously to interrupt settlement and progress, and subject the people to sacrifices and suffering. Yet Augustus Porter must have been better posted than most of his neighbors, for his brother Peter, who had been elected to congress in 1810, filled the important post of chairman of the house committee on foreign relations, and it was he who, in the latter part of November, 1811, reported the resolutions authorizing immediate and active preparations for war which the congress adopted, after his great and stirring speech of December 11th.

In June, 1812, when the declaration of war between the United States and Great Britain was definitely made, most of the inhabitants on the frontier moved to the interior. But when nothing happened they gradually returned, and remained until December, 1813, when the dreadful invasion took place. During the twelve or thirteen months of anxiety in the little town, Judge Porter had to be much away from home, traveling from post to post on the Great Lakes, buying and delivering provisions, probably the main dependence on the frontier of the national commissary department. His wife and children remained at Niagara. A few trusty servants were with them, but Mrs. Porter was practically the general of the village. In the cellar of the house, as it was the only brick structure in the town, were stored the village guns. The transportation business had been suspended, many of the strong men had enlisted and marched away, and the settlement lay at the mercy of the Indians, frightened and still, ready to yield to panic at any moment. This Judge Porter well knew; and realizing the unique position which he and his family held in the town, he wrote to his wife that she must stay there as long as possible, feeling sure that her presence would allay the fear. When it is unsafe for you to stay longer, he added, I shall know and send you word. And so she, with the boys and the baby girl, stayed on. Once there came a report at night that the Indians were

2

ing, and the men flocked to her for advice and arms. She did not falter, did not doubt the news nor question her husband's care. In the stillness of the night she rose, the bravest woman in the village, and passed out the guns to the men from the cellar window, with a word of cheer for each. It proved a false alarm, but the incident shows what was the strength in the settlement and the character of the woman.

At last, after weeks of this anxiety, and when the snows of December were deep, the dread message from Judge Howell came: It is unsafe to stay longer. You must make haste. Leave very quietly and go to your brother in Canandaigua. As I get opportunity I will send money to you.

She confided the secret to only one person, a trustworthy friend; knowing that a dropped hint would strike the settlement with panic and all would be lost. As though she were going for a drive, she ordered that the sleigh be brought to the door. At evening she and her children got into it; and with her servant's help she was able to stow away in it a few precious things, such as a carpet, brass and silver and linen. So, in the night and in winter, with the enemy near, she started for Canandaigua. But before she had time to take the bungs out of the whisky barrels in the cellar, the Indians should not make themselves mad by drink during their cruel work on the morrow. Of that ride to Canandaigua we know no more, except that the brave woman and her charges arrived in safety and went to the home of her father, Judge Howell. There they stayed for four years, the boys at school in the academy, now old and famous; far removed from the horrors of war, but full of such war feelings as boys would be whose home the enemy had burned, whose father was at the front, and whose uncle was leading the army with a skill and intrepidity that caused Congress to confer on him the commandership-in-general of the national army, and later publicly to express to him the country's gratitude and order that a medal be struck in his honor; the city of New York presented to him its freedom in a gilded box, and the state of New York voted to him a sword. When the family returned to Niagara peace had been restored, but the suddenness with which, after their flight,

the little town had been attacked showed that the warning had come none too soon. Mrs. Porter had left two men in the house. On the morning after she had gone they saw from the windows the Indians approaching. The watchmen at once took flight, and the last glimpse which family stores gives of them is that they were seen running up the river bank with Indians brandishing tomahawks in full chase. The rest of the hostile party, made up of both British and Indians, broke into the Porter house, sacked it of the things the members wanted, heaped the beds and other furniture on the kitchen floor, and then set fire to the mansion. Except for the foundations it was entirely destroyed, and with it went many valuable charts and calculations based on the original surveys which the great pioneer had made in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Such maps and manuscripts as escaped the flames, together with the instruments used in the original surveys, are now preserved in cases at the Buffalo Historical Society, to which Judge Porter's son presented them after his decease. Among the things which the Indians stole and carried away was a coffee urn of lacquer, mounted with silver. Some years later it was found in Canada, little the worse for having been buried for a time, and was restored to Judge and Mrs. Porter.

The settlement of Niagara and the frontier suffered as did the Porter mansion. There was no resistance worthy of the name. Buildings and property of every description were destroyed; many unresisting persons were killed; and others, escaping only with their lives, were reduced to extreme want and suffering. Nothing was saved except two or three small dwellings and the log tavern. These had been set on fire with the others, but persons in the vicinity extinguished the flames by hand after the departure of the enemy. No buildings were re-erected at Niagara until after the close of the war, in 1815.

V. THE LANDED PROPRIETOR.

Though Judge Porter was busy with the commissary department throughout the war, his interest in his Niagara



SILVER URN IN PORTER HOMESTEAD, NIAGARA FALLS.

**CARRIED OFF FROM JUDGE PORTER'S HOUSE WHEN IT WAS BURNED BY THE ENEMY, 1813; FOUND
YEARS AFTERWARD IN CANADA, RESTORED TO JUDGE PORTER, AND NOW PRESERVED
BY HIS DESCENDANTS. IT IS OF SILVER, BLACK LACQUER
FINISH, ABOUT TWO FEET HIGH.**



THE AUGUSTUS PORTER HOMESTEAD, NIAGARA FALLS, N. Y.

was still vast, and his confidence in the success of American arms, with the final restoration of peace on the frontier, seems never to have faltered. In 1814, a year before the war's close, he was able to steal a clever march on the British of New York by which he gained, in spite of the British's reluctance, the desired possession of Goat Island.

There was a lawyer of considerable prominence, Samuel Sherwood, to whom the state had given, in recognition of a failure of title to lands he had purchased, an instrument called a "float." This allowed the bearer to purchase 200 acres on any of the unsold or unappropriated lands of the commonwealth. Peter B. and Augustus Porter used the instrument of Sherwood and chose Goat Island and small islands adjacent to it, some 70 acres in all, as a part of the tract. In 1816 they received their patent or deed, on November 16, 1816. It was made out to Augustus; but he once deeded a half interest in the island group to Peter.

As only a few weeks before this, on September 12, 1814, the Senecas had ceded the island to the state of New York; and it was only in October that Parkhurst had surveyed it. Thus was caused the considerable delay until the Indian right of occupancy had been thus shed the state could not give good title. By this the Indians reserved the right of "hunting, fishing, camping in and upon the waters of the Niagara river, and camping on the said islands for that purpose;" and this, we believe, still exists. The compensation which they had to pay to the Senecas for their cession of the land on the river was \$1000 in cash, and \$1500 a year in annuity.

At the close of the war, in 1815, Judge Porter brought his family back to Niagara Falls; and the Government reimbursed him for the burning of his house inasmuch as he had devoted its use as an arsenal. While the old homestead was being rebuilt on a scale twice as large as before, and in locations that it now has, the family occupied a small house opposite to the present International hotel. Most of the other settlers had returned and though the year 1816

was a very unfavorable one, with money scarce and frosts in every month killing the crops, the little settlement yet had quite a bustling character. Mills and dwellings were rebuilt, the old tavern was improved and repaired so that it afforded a comfortable resort for travelers, and, greatest triumph of all, Samuel De Veaux built a store.

It may be said here, by the way, that the village during all this early period was variously called. The petition of Augustus Porter for the purchase of Goat Island in 1811 speaks of him as a resident of Cambria*; letters of 1816 addressed to "Judge Porter, Manchester," are still in the family's possession, and by the name of Manchester the town was widely known for a time—certainly as early as 1813, and certainly as late as 1828, for the village is marked "Manchester" on a map of that date. But the old Indian Niagara was never quite abandoned; and as it triumphed in the end, as in the beginning, it is here used continuously to avoid confusion. At some early period, probably when it suited his own convenience, for no doubt at first nine-tenths of the mail was his own, Augustus Porter became postmaster at Niagara. He was the first postmaster in the counties of Niagara and Erie, which is a distinction, and he served the village in this way until 1837. Transportation over the portage had been resumed as soon as peace was declared, and subsequently the State added four years to the original thirteen of the contract, in consideration of the interruption that the war had caused. On the first of July, 1816, the Niagara Bank was organized at Buffalo and Augustus Porter was made a director. The capital stock was \$500,000, an immense sum for the times, but only \$6.25 was required to be deposited on each \$100 share. The charter expired in 1832.

In June of 1816, on the sixth day, a second girl child was born to Augustus Porter, his fifth and last child by his second wife, and she was named Jane S. In the fall of that year Albert H. went to Schenectady to enter Union college in the class of 1820. His brother, Augustus S., had preceded

* On the creation of Niagara county in 1808 all that part north of Tonawanda creek was described as the town of Cambria.





FIRST SAIDGE TO GOAT ISLAND. BUILT BY JUDGE PORTER IN 1817.
FROM AN ENGRAVING PUBLISHED IN LONDON IN 1801, AFTER A PAINTING BY G. OAKLEY.

him by two years, going there from Canandaigua. The younger boy, Peter B., followed a little later, but went to Hamilton instead of to Union, entering there with his cousin, Alexander Howell, the judge's son. There were not many pioneer families in those days, probably, from which three sons were thus sent to college, all to graduate. The famous Dr. Nott was then president of Union, and among the students in Albert's class was William H. Seward. The boys made the journey by the stage coach which ran regularly from Buffalo; and the journey was so long an one that they could never go home for Christmas, for the vacation lasted but two weeks, and it took a week to make the trip each way. These long winter absences must have made a vast difference in the home circle, but otherwise the family life now again passed quietly, with that quiet that stands for busy, well-filled hours. There was early rising and early retirement to bed; there were long expeditions in land clearing, in the hunting of the hedge hog, in developing the estates; and much thought and no little correspondence in carrying on the business of the Transportation company. The visits of the Indians at the house were renewed. Red Jacket came once more in all the glory of his chieftain's garb and with the dignity that made him famous; and Corn Planter came, already an old man of 80 years or more, scarred and wrinkled and ugly, the half-breed chief—but an Indian by education and habit—who had appealed to President Washington when he saw his fellows being wronged.


Of the great enterprises of the time a notable one was Judge Porter's construction of a bridge to Goat Island, in 1817. The structure was near the island's upper end, where the water is comparatively quiet, and considerably above the present bridge; but it proved unable to resist the rapidity of the current with its heavy masses of ice, and in the following winter it was carried down. Though the bridge lasted so short a time it proved, it has been said, that Goat Island was worth more as a pleasure resort for tourist than as a sheep pasture. The first structure, it need hardly be added, like its successor, was of wood.

On the seventeenth of August, in 1817, on Friday, his

Excellency, James Monroe, President of the United States, spent the night at Judge Porter's. He was on his way from Fort Niagara to Black Rock, and was accompanied by Major General Brown, commander-in-chief of the United States army.

In 1818 Judge Porter built a bridge to Goat Island, on the site of the present structure. He was his own engineer, and the work was considered at that time an extremely difficult and dangerous undertaking. But it stood for 38 years, until removed to make way for a bridge of iron. It is related that the Indians watched the building of the bridge over the rapids with great amazement. Day after day they gathered on the bank. Red Jacket came among them. He saw the bulkhead built in shallow water next the shore, rollers put on the flooring, and then the hewn logs which were balanced over the rushing, swirling stream by the rollers. The logs were let down on pike taffs and piers were built around them. Red Jacket grasped the idea, and, exclaiming, disheartened, "Damned Yankee! Damned Yankee!" he walked away. The building of the bridge was followed by the cutting of a road around the island.

Of the visits of the Indians to Judge Porter's house we can get a good idea from the personal recollections of one who witnessed them only a few years later, as a little girl. She says that there were two classes of Indians: The Tuscaroras and the Canadians. The visits of the latter were considered great occasions. They came in parties of two or four, generally in the winter because then they were hungry, and usually they came three or four times in a winter. They were in full regalia of feathers, robes, and rings, unwilling to acknowledge any mendicancy. They always arrived in the evening. The servants were afraid of them as they stalked into the kitchen without knocking, but the Judge would go out and talk to them. They could not speak English, but he and they never had trouble in interpreting one another's signs. They were fed on doughnuts, apples, and cider, and meat, and would roll themselves in their blankets on the kitchen floor before the great hearth fire at bed time. Next morning, before the family was up, they would be



gone. The Tuscaroras were much milder and came oftener. They sold mats, baskets, and beaded work, and in the summer berries. One of their number could dance. He liked to be asked to do so, and as it was sport to watch him, it became a regular thing. It was a wild dance; he accompanied himself, and all his fellows were proud of him.

Judge Porter's life was now mainly where his interests centered, in and about the growing village of Niagara. As his brother Peter was busy in affairs of state and nation, so he was equally busy, and locally not less prominent, as the pioneer. The office of the Judge was in the "front cellar," or high basement of his house. It had its own entrance, and was the hub of the settlement. Here was the first village postoffice, here was transacted much of the Porter, Barton & Co. business, here every Saturday night came the long line of men to receive their wages. That these men were numerous for the times one can guess from the Judge's many interests. About six men were employed regularly on the place. Then he had his rope walk, his saw mill, his flour and carding mills, his farms, which extended on both sides and far up the road that is now Buffalo avenue, and his land clearing expeditions. A horse was ready at his door at 4 o'clock on summer mornings; and, cantering off, frequently to be gone all day, the Judge would in person oversee his enterprises. The land clearing would sometimes keep him several days at a time, when he would live with his men, eating with them, and doing some of his own cooking in the way he had learned as a surveyor—only now pork roasted on the end of a stick took the place of bear's meat. In the winter the work was mainly wood cutting. Around the house itself the lawn was much as it is at present, except that there was a wide gateway and that the street, not yet widened, left more room in front of the mansion. In the rear of the dwelling was a garden, and at the foot of the back hill, and in the estate's lower corner, was a pasture.

The housekeeping was on a generous scale, so that the Judge's wife was hardly less of a factotum than the Judge himself. The mansion's great cellar was many times subdivided. There was the office; and there was the meat

cellar where were barrels of pork and whole sides of beef; the apple cellar, the milk cellar, the vegetable cellar, with its cider and vinegar; the lock cellar where was kept a keg of brandy, the wines and whisky, and the cheese, preserved fruit and mince meat; and finally the "Jones cellar," named and reserved for the itinerant cobbler who came two or three times a year, and used the room as a workshop where he made shoes for the family and the servants. The cooking was done in a great brick oven, and also over the immense hearth in the kitchen, the fowls, sometimes a large turkey and two chickens, roasting together on a spit before the fire. Beef, pork, poultry, fruit, vegetables, and grains were of course raised on the family farms. The beef and pork was butchered at home, and there the lard was prepared, the hams were smoked, and the sausages made. And these butchering times were great occasions. All the help was called in to assist in the disposition of the carcasses, for no part was lost. Mrs. Porter understood every detail of the work; but the practical superintending was done by a woman of the village, summoned to the mansion of the Judge for the occasion and made general of the scene. The cider was brewed at home, and the churning done, part of the latter for a while by Rover, the dog; and all the cooking was on the liberal, lavish scale of New England hospitality, which made the arrival of guests no possible embarrassment to the well stocked shelves of the cellars. Indeed it is remembered that Henry Clay, coming in unexpectedly just as the family repast was ready, was greeted with a dinner that aroused his praise, for a word from the mistress had brought pies and preserves galore to add to the regular meal; and De Witt Clinton, writing in his journal of his stay at Judge Porter's, makes note of the "elegant dinner." In the summer, when many men were employed about the place, it was customary to prepare a mid-day meal for all of them, and a long table was spread on the porch of the kitchen, whither bountiful supplies went out.

Nor was it food alone that the housekeeper of that day had to look after. She, or her assistants, had to make almost everything used in the house. All the candles and soap were

made at home, and there, too, the spinning was done. For the latter a woman was employed especially and another, who lived in the village, on the site of the present Cataract house, was knitter of the family. There was also the cobbler, of whom we have spoken, and in the Judge's carding establishment on the race a kind of cloth called satinette was made for the local consumption. The knitter devoted almost her entire time to her task, making all the mittens and stockings for the dependants as well as the family. Among the servants, by the way, there was a Negro and his family, whom the Judge had brought with him from Canandaigua. The man's name was Harry Wood, and he was the first Negro at Niagara Falls. His wife, Katie, was the cook. No friction is remembered between races among the servants, but the Negroes took their meals at a side table.

A few events of family importance occur now and then to mark the passage of the years following 1817, when President Monroe was a guest, and 1818 when the second Goat Island bridge was constructed. In the latter year Judge Porter's brother, General Peter B., was married to Letitia Breckenridge of Kentucky, only daughter of Jefferson's attorney-general; in that year, too, the oldest boy, Augustus S., graduating from Union, went to Canandaigua to study law with Judge Howell. Two years later Albert H. Porter, the Judge's second son, having been graduated from college, began to assist his father in the care of the estates at home; and Barton in this year (on August 8, 1820) conveyed his interests to Judge Porter for \$10,000. Erie county in 1821 was set off from Niagara, and Judge Augustus Porter was elected a member of the constitutional convention, to represent with one colleague the four counties of Cattaraugus, Chautauqua, Erie and Niagara; in 1822 he erected at Niagara Falls the large flouring mill, subsequently owned by the Witmer brothers. This had four runs of stones and was furnished with all the modern improvements that had then been adopted in Rochester.

In 1825 took place the visit of Lafayette at Judge Porter's. Of this one can ask for no better account than that of

Lafayette's own secretary, M. Levasseur.* The report may be briefly summarized by the statement that the general, after breakfasting with the family of Judge Porter's brother at Black Rock, was driven to Niagara Falls. There the town presented to him an address and a banquet, but such was Lafayette's impatience to see the wonder of which he had heard so much, writes his secretary, that both presentations were made as brief as possible. Early in the afternoon the party visited Goat Island, and their impressions are detailed with genuine French emphasis: "Monsieur A. Porter, brother of General Porter, (with whom we had breakfasted at Black Rock)," writes the secretary, "is the proprietor of Goat Island. He had the courtesy to conduct personally General Lafayette to all the most picturesque points of this remarkable, or unique, property. . . . After two hours of a delightful drive and promenade we left the island, casting a parting glance upon the bridge, that unites it to terra firma. . . . The general could not tear himself away from this imposing scene and I believe that when he learned that Goat Island and its charming dependencies could be bought for the sum of \$10,000, he regretted deeply that the distance from France would not permit him to make this acquisition. This would be indeed a delicious habitation. The surface of the ground, many acres in extent, is covered with a vigorous vegetation, while the turf is continually refreshed by the spray, pure and light, that rises from the cataracts, presenting an agreeable refuge from the heat of summer. The course of the water that surrounds it offers a motive power that is incalculable, and one that could be easily applied to uses of many kinds. I do not think that Monsieur Porter (should he ever desire it), would find it difficult to rid himself of a property that combines so many advantages."

* "Lafayette en Amérique, en 1824 et 1825; ou journal d'un voyage aux Etats-Unis," etc., two vols., Paris, 1829. This the original French edition contains a dozen curious engravings, among them a portrait of Washington in the costume of a Roman warrior—the Cincinnatus of the West. Dr. John D. Godman made translation of M. Levasseur's Journal, into English, which was published in Philadelphia in the same year in which the original was issued. Both editions are in the Historical Society library.

In this same year old Dr. Joshua Porter, of Salisbury, died. The quaint letter in which this news was announced to the Judge has been preserved with many of the latter's papers. It is written by his brother Joshua, and is most curiously stilted, formal, and direct. The letter reads:

SALISBURY, Monday, April 4, 1825.

DEAR SIR—This will inform you of the death of our Father, he died on Saturday, the 2d instant, about 11 O'Clock and was buried on Sunday after Meeting. I arrived here myself about half an hour before he died. Sister Eunice arrived here the evening before. We were both sent for and of Course we were here at his Funeral which was conducted in a very decent manner, and a very proper respect shewn him by the Inhabitants of the Town, much to my Satisfaction—Doctor Humphrey presented his Will to me according to his instructions, on examination it appears he has appointed me Executor of his Will and has Willed to me his personal property, paying out of it \$40 a Legacy to Burral's Children; he has also added another hundred to my portion out of which I am to pay his last debts and funerall expenses and procure suitable Tomb Stones, the above hundred dollars is to be taken out of the Money due from Holley for the above purposes.

. . . [concerning legacies, the Holley debt, etc.] . . .

My family were in tolerable health when I left home. My Best regards to your Wife in particular and Best respects to all your family.

Very much your Affectionate Brother,

JOSHUA PORTER.

P. S.—Pleas to notify Peter.

This year was notable also for two great public improvements. The construction of Black Rock harbor, in which Augustus Porter took a most active part; and the completion of the Erie canal. Though the canal did not touch at the settlement of Niagara Falls, it had an important influence upon the development of that town. Not only did it make useless forever, as a line of transportation the ancient carry around the falls, leading immigration direct to Buffalo

instead; but by the easy development from it of large water power at Lockport, it caused a serious check to industrial enterprise around the cataract, diverting the improvement to its own line. Yet in the advocacy and building of this waterway no great land-holding family had a more distinguished part than did the Porters. Peter B. was one of its earliest projectors; and with Morris and Clinton, he constituted the commission for selecting its route.

But in a certain way, which they could not foresee, the quiet that now stole upon the village at Niagara, the relative stagnation in which it was to lie for fifty years—so slow was its growth during all that time—redounded to the benefit and comfort and prominence of the Porter family. They had no pressing need of larger material prosperity, and as the great land owners of the region, as a family whose name stood high in the annals of history, as the possessors of the greatest natural wonder the new world had to offer, a unique position came to be held by them. Locally the ruling Porter was as lord of the manor, hardly a cap but was raised to him. And in a larger social sense the simile of the English home-*stead* stands. To many a notable, indeed, have swung open the doors of the hospitable Porter mansions. President Monroe, Lafayette, John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay, are but a few names that stand out with special prominence in those days that followed the visits of the great chiefs of the Indians. In fact Peter B. himself became national secretary of war in 1828, under Adams; and a glance at some of the old papers of Augustus Porter has revealed letters indicating the personal friendship of Millard Fillmore, De Witt Clinton, Lafayette, Cyrus W. Field, and Hamilton Fish. Here, for instance, is an autograph note of introduction from Lafayette, turned up in that hasty glance:

PARIS, April 30, 1828.

MY DEAR SIR—Permit me to introduce to you Mr. Henry Tenwe of the eminent Manufacturing family of that name. Himself a young man of great learning and abilities. He is going to visit the American continent and his investigating scientific mind will be Highly gratified to be Hon-

ored with your advices. I am Happy in this opportunity to remind you of your Obligated sincere friend.

LAFAYETTE.

Remember me if you please to family and friends.

JUDGE PORTER.

In other places, too, one stumbles continually on things throwing light on the prominence of the family. In "Captain Hall's Travels in North America," for instance, Edinburgh, 1829, the writer tells of a visit he made to Augustus Porter at Niagara Falls, and how the Judge took him around Goat Island and discussed with him what it was best to do with that wonderful piece of property. It is interesting, in the light of recent discussion and legislation, to find that the Judge had been advised to cut down all the crooked trees and "erect a great tavern" there, on the brink of the precipice. It would have paid no doubt, but the Judge was too loyal to his sense of the beautiful ever thus to ruin nature's own setting of that glorious scene.

But at Niagara Falls, during Judge Porter's life, the special emphasis was on the paternal relation to the village. It is no insignificant thing that he was always then referred to, and for years afterward was spoken of, by the surviving villagers, as "The Judge." Other name was neither needed nor given. To him the townsmen came to pour out all their troubles, sure of sympathy and wisdom and help. He was the oracle of the neighborhood, called upon to settle or advise in all kinds of difficulties.

The latter years of Judge Porter's life, says a brief sketch of him prepared by his son, Albert H. Porter, "were chiefly devoted to his private business, in the cultivation of his lands, and in various local improvements, with his characteristic energy, his mental faculties unimpaired to the time of his decease." His house became now the "homestead" which it has ever since been called, as his children began to marry and settle about it, and came, like the commoner villagers, to look upon it as the center of the town; only to them a prouder, more personal feeling, naturally made the old house dearer than it could be to any others. Its relative magnificence was still maintained. The carpet, for instance,

that was destined to cover the floor of the long parlors for more than half a century, and then to be stored as worthy of further use, was purchased at this time, brought all the way from New York. It was probably the second fine Brussels carpet in the western part of the state, and the first was in the house of General Porter, the Judge's brother.

The lives of the children become now of interest and importance.

Augustus S., the oldest son of the Judge, having completed his law studies in Canandaigua, had removed to Black Rock to practice. In 1822 he had married Sarah A. Mansfield, but in 1824 she had died. From Black Rock Augustus S. went to Detroit, where he served for several years as mayor of the city. In 1832 he married a second wife, Sarah G. Barnard. From 1839 to 1845 he was United States senator from Michigan, and shortly thereafter returned to Niagara Falls to reside, bringing his wife and two daughters, and building a fine house close to his father's and similarly overlooking the river.

In 1826 the second son, Albert H., took charge with a partner, Henry W. Clark, of a large paper mill which the Judge erected on Bath Island. The upper race, for the utilization of water power, was also extended and various works were established upon it. In 1829 Albert married Julia Mathews, daughter of Vincent Mathews, of Rochester, who had taken part in the first jury trial west of Herkimer county with Albert's two lawyer uncles, Peter B. Porter and Nathaniel W. Howell. General Mathews, like his companions in that trial, was now a widely distinguished man. He had been the first lawyer admitted to practice in the Ontario County Court. In 1826 he had been elected village trustee of Rochester, the first distinctively representative of the famous Third ward. He had served in the legislature of the State and in Congress, and in 1834 was to be elected (by the Common Council) the first attorney and counsel of the city of Rochester. The bride's family was very old and prominent on both her father's and mother's side, and she is described as having been an extremely beautiful girl. After the wedding Albert brought his bride to his father's house for the

winter. In the summer a new dwelling was completed for them, opposite the homestead. Five children were the fruit of the union.

The third son, Peter B., studied law, practiced it for some time in Buffalo, and then returned to his father's house. He was handsome, dashing, and socially very popular. For four terms, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, he was elected to the assembly from Niagara county, and in the fourth term served as speaker, the youngest speaker in the history of the state. Then he held many village offices. He never married, but with his maiden sister, Lavinia E., lived long after his father's death in the old homestead.

In 1837 Jane S., the youngest daughter, was married. She had been to Detroit to visit her brother, and there had met Daniel J. Townsend, a descendant on both his father's and mother's side of early New England colonists from England. She was sent for to come home, owing to the illness of her mother, and Mr. Townsend escorted her. The wedding took place on the 26th of September, in the evening, with many relatives present. The next day the bride and groom, following the pioneer instincts of their fathers, set out in a "prairie schooner" wagon for the West. They settled near the present city of Chicago, but returned finally to Niagara Falls to live. Four children, of whom the first died in infancy, were born to them. Jane as a girl had been sent away to school, just as the boys had been sent to college. A sister of the Judge, married to Colonel Pawling, lived in Troy.* There, too, Mrs. Willard had her famous school, and to her, that she might be with her aunt, Jane was sent. In 1834, when she graduated, Judge and Mrs. Porter took the long eastward journey to be present at the commencement. With them they took the wife of their son Augustus, their year-old grandchild, Jenny; and a nurse. They went by packet on the canal. The boat was fast, for it was drawn by three horses, instead of the commoner two. Mrs. Augustus S. Porter and her child went on to Connecticut to visit relatives, while the Judge and his wife waited their return in

* Col. Albert Pawling, first mayor of Troy, first sheriff of the county, and a prominent officer in the Revolutionary war.

Troy. It was during this visit that the fine, large portraits of Judge and Mrs. Porter were painted at Albany.

The trip was destined to be repeated under less happy circumstances. Time had been passing quickly in these smooth later days and at last Mrs. Porter was stricken with an incurable disease. One arm was rendered useless, yet she lost none of her interest in the household management, and was still the efficient, placid, pleasant mistress of old. She was also the firm, brave woman who had kept the guns and commanded the village in the days of war, for when heroic treatment of the trouble was decided upon she did not flinch. It was tried in Buffalo, at the General's house, without success, and bravely she and the Judge journeyed once more to Albany, where was the best surgical advice, and there, too, there was an operation unrelieved by anæsthetic, a blessing in those days unknown. But the strong endurance was in vain. Gradually Mrs. Porter grew worse. All the fall of 1840 she was confined to her bed, and on the 31st of January, 1841, she died. The funeral, attended by a large gathering, was from the house. Dr. Shelton, an Episcopal clergyman of Buffalo and a friend of the family, officiated. The burial was in the old village cemetery, on the slowly rising hill that overlooked the broad sweep of river, and where the thunders of the cataract are plainly heard.

His daughter Lavinia now kept house for the Judge. In the last months of her mother's illness most of the care of the household had devolved upon her, and she efficiently continued the task of making a calm and pleasant home for her father, now upwards of 72 years of age, and her unmarried brother Peter. Lavinia was herself not strong, and so had a housekeeper to help her. She was a sufferer from a cough that the best medical advice was unable to cure; but the home had never the depressing gloom and quiet that old age and an invalid might so easily have given to it. Lavinia's role was that of "Lady of the Mansion," and she played it with that grace, and charm, and sunniness of temperament, and broad hospitality, for which nature had given her the spirit. The number and magnitude of her private and quiet charities no one could measure; but when she

died, a score of years after this, the family had chiseled upon her tomb this verse (James iii., 17), which is said exactly to describe her: "First pure, then peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality and without hypocrisy."

The family ties were close between all the children, and, centering in the old homestead, they found unique and pleasant expression in the custom, to be continued long after the father's death, now inaugurated in the mid-forties. This was a family supper party to which all the sons and daughters and grandchildren were invited, and held sometimes in one house and sometimes in another, but always on January 18th, the anniversary of the Judge's birth. A feature of these gatherings in later years came to be the reading of the "Chronicles," written in Biblical style, and relating all the family events of importance during the preceding twelve-months. These were regularly, cleverly, and truthfully continued for many years; and have lately, through the patient labor of a loyal grandchild of the Judge, Julia Porter Osborne, been carried down to the present time, making a complete family history of almost fifty years.

On the tenth of March, 1844, another death occurred in the family. It was that of General Peter Buell Porter, the brother of the Judge, the sharer of the hardships of the frontier life at Canandaigua; the co-worker in the wilderness at Niagara, the partner in the transportation business; and the associate in the triumphs which foresight, courage, and perseverance had so amply won for these two brothers. Better known to the public, through his prominence in the national councils of state and war, the news of his comparatively sudden death came with a shock to the whole country, and the press was filled with eulogies of the brave man whom the nation had reason to regard as almost its main champion in the crisis of 1812. In the village the sentiment was more that of veneration for the frontier's defender, with perhaps a little awe, owing to the honors put upon him; and not quite the personal feeling possibly that the more fatherly Judge could claim. General Porter had built for himself a splendid mansion, opposite the present site of the Interna-

tional hotel; and there he died, and thence was carried, after a funeral notable in the annals of the town, to his last resting place on the burial hill.

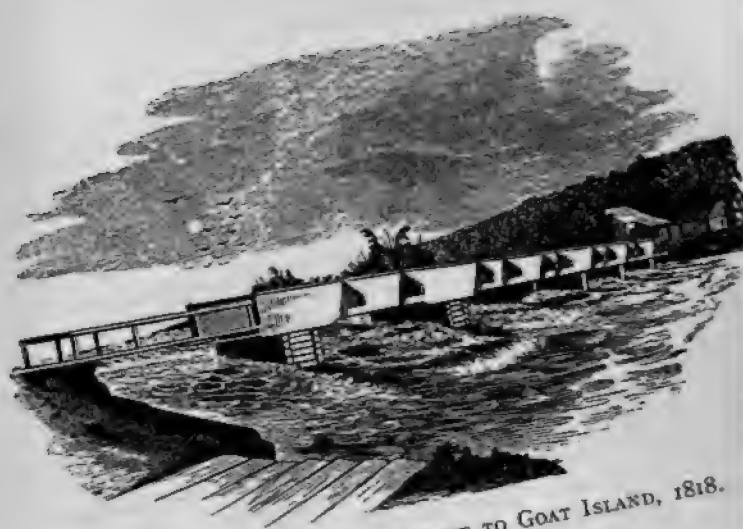
It had been his custom, after the construction of this house (in 1838), to give annually in the winter an entertainment there for the villagers. This was called "the village party." There was usually dancing and sometimes a play, and the occasion was one of great amusement and pleasure to the Porters. The story is still told of one young man who asked Elizabeth "to polk" and of another who, on being congratulated by the General on his engagement to be married, replied, "'Tis the luck o' nature." The villagers attended freely but were very diffident. After the General's death the house passed to his son.

Meanwhile the village of Niagara Falls had been growing, and while the Porters, now more numerous, maintained their old prominence in it, the town was fast outgrowing its primitive, frontier character. In 1836 a slightly built railroad had been constructed via the village to connect Buffalo and Lockport; in 1845 the inclined plane at the ferry, with cars run by water power, was substituted for the old winding stairs and ladders; and in 1848 a temporary suspension bridge was swung across the river. Five churches, representing as many denominations, had been erected in 1849, instead of the old plan, in operation until 1815, by which common services had been held in the schoolhouse. There was even a weekly newspaper, called the *Iris of Niagara*, established in 1847, and there were large mills, several considerable hotels, and many stores. In 1842, after many years' study of the problem, Judge Porter made public for the first time a plan for considerably extending the system of canals and races that was already employed in the moderate utilization of Niagara's water power. In January, 1847, in connection with Peter Emslie, a civil engineer, he published a formal plan. This became a subject of negotiation with New York parties, and the construction of a hydraulic canal, finished only long after the Judge's death, was at last commenced.

The interests of the Judge seemed ever broader, and in

many of these matters he had an active part. Severe deafness had come with age, but otherwise his vigor seemed little impaired. But in 1843 an accident caused a sudden change. He was at his sawmill on the race, behind the house, and slipped and fell while prying a stick of timber. The hip was injured and from that time he was lame. Finally a nervous disease came on, and early in the spring of 1849 the pioneer of eighty years was obliged to take to his bed. He never rose, and on the tenth of June, 1849, he died.

The funeral was held from the house. It was very largely attended, not only by townsmen, but by many people from Black Rock and Buffalo. He was buried beside his wife, in the village cemetery, and far and wide it was recognized that a truly great man had gone. Turner had visited him in this last year, and prints this description of him: "He may be said to constitute a connecting link between two generations. . . . Living now in an age of luxury, of increasing effeminacy; surrounded by all the comforts of life; with ample means to enjoy its luxuries; he emphatically belongs to the old school; preserving the simple, frugal habits of his youth and middle age, his habits of industry and economy; his love of the substantial and sensible things of this life." And then with an enthusiasm which, as he says, needs no apology, he exclaims on the changes which this pioneer had seen; on the marvelous contrasts in the scenes his memory could paint: "How blended," Turner wrote, "with change, progress, the mighty achievements of our age and race, is the name, are the reminiscences, of this early pioneer!"



JUDGE PORTER'S SECOND BRIDGE TO GOAT ISLAND, 1818.

NARRATIVE OF EARLY YEARS IN
THE LIFE OF
JUDGE AUGUSTUS PORTER

WRITTEN BY HIM IN 1848 FOR THE YOUNG MEN'S ASSOCIA-
TION OF BUFFALO ; THE MANUSCRIPT SUBSEQUENTLY
DEPOSITED WITH THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL
SOCIETY. NOW FIRST PUBLISHED.*

My father, Joshua Porter, was born in Lebanon, Conn., on the 26th June, O. S., 1730. He was educated at Yale College and adopted the profession of physician and surgeon. In the year 1757 he located himself in the town of Salisbury in the same state, where he lived in the actual practice of his profession for more than fifty years, and where he resided until his death, which occurred in 1825, in the 95th year of his age. In May, 1759, he was married to my mother, Abigail Buel, daughter of Peter Buel of Coventry, Conn., with whom he lived until her death in October, 1797. By this marriage he had six children, viz: Joshua Porter, born May 1, 1760; Abigail Porter, born Oct. 20, 1762; Eunice Porter, born Sept. 10, 1765; Augustus Porter, born Jan. 18, 1769; Peter B. Porter, born August 14, 1773; and Sally Porter, born Sept. 10, 1778.

I attended the common school of the town until I was some 14 or 15 years old. My regular attendance at school

* Ample extracts were used by Orsamus Turner in his "History of the Holland Purchase," but the autobiography as a whole has never before been printed.

was however interrupted during the war of the Revolution, when owing to the scarcity of men to perform the labors of the farm, it became necessary to employ boys; so that much of the time I only went to school in the winter, and worked on the farm in the summer.

In the Fall of 1786 I spent some three or four months with Mr. Tisdale of Lebanon, under whose instruction I studied mathematics, and particularly surveying. In consequence of the sudden death of Mr. Tisdale by paralysis I returned to my father's and again commenced work on the farm, which was my chief employment until 1789. In 1787 I assisted a Mr. Moore in making some farm surveys in the neighborhood, and in 1788 I did some surveying myself, by which I acquired some practical knowledge of the art.

In the year 1789 Captain William Bacon, Gen. John Fellows, Gen. John Ashley, and Elisha Lee, Esq., of Sheffield, Mass.; Deacon John Adams of Alford, Mass., and my father, having become the purchasers of Township No. 12, 1st. Range (now Arcadia, Wayne Co.), and No. 10 in the 4th Range (now East Bloomfield, Ontario Co.), then in the county of Montgomery, New York, I entered into an agreement with them to go out and survey these tracts. I accordingly in pursuance of previous arrangements made with Captain Bacon, met him at Schenectady, early in May, 1789. Here I found Captain Bacon had collected some cattle, provisions and farming utensils for the use of the settlers who were going forward in company with Deacon Adams and his family, whom I also met at the same place, and who took charge of the cattle. The provisions were taken into two boats. I assisted in navigating one of the boats, each carrying about twelve barrels, and known as Schenectady bat-teaux, and each navigated by four men.

Leaving Schenectady, we proceeded up the Mohawk to Fort Stanwix (now Rome). In passing Little Falls of the Mohawk the boats and their contents were transported around on wagons. At Fort Stanwix we carried our boats, etc., over a portage of about one mile to the waters of Wood Creek. This Creek affords but little water from the portage to its junction with the Canada Creek, which falls into Wood

Creek seven miles west of Fort Stanwix. At the portage there was a dam for a sawmill which created a considerable pond. This pond when full could be rapidly discharged, and on the flood thus suddenly made boats were enabled to pass down. We passed down this stream, which empties into the Oneida Lake, and through that lake and its outlet to the Three River point, and thence up the Seneca river and the outlet of Kanadasaga Lake (now Seneca lake), to Kanadasaga settlement, now Geneva. The only interruption to the navigation of this river and outlet occurred at Seneca Falls and Waterloo, then known as Scoys. At Seneca Falls we passed our boat up the stream empty by the strength of a double crew, our loading being taken around by a man named Job Smith, who had a pair of oxen and a rudely constructed cart, the wheels of which were made by sawing off a section of a log, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ or 3 feet in diameter. At Scoys we took out about half our load to pass, consisting mostly of barrels which were rolled around the rapids.

From the time we left Fort Stanwix until we arrived at Kanadasaga, we found no white persons, except at the junction of Canada and Wood Creeks, where a man lived by the name of Armstrong; at Three River Point where lived a Mr. Bingham; and at Seneca Falls, where was Joab Smith. Geneva was at that time the most important western settlement, and consisted of some six or seven families, among who were Col. Reed, father of the late Rufus S. Reed of Erie, Penn.; Roger Noble and family of Sheffield, Mass., and Asa Ransom, late of Erie County, who had a small shop, and was engaged in making Indian trinkets. At Geneva we left our boats and cargoes in charge of Capt. Bacon, who had come from Schenectady to Fort Stanwix on horseback and then took passage in our boats. Joel Steel, Thaddeus Keyes, Orange Woodruff and myself, took our packs on our backs and followed the Indian trail over to Canandaigua.

At Canandaigua (then called Kanandarque) we found Gen. Chapin, Daniel Gates, Joseph Smith (Indian interpreter), Benjamin Gardner and family, Frederick Saxton (surveyor), and probably some half dozen others, all of whom except Smith and Gardner had come on with Gen. Chapin

some ten or fifteen days before in boats from Schenectady by Fort Stanwix, Wood Creek, Oneida Lake, etc., and up the Canandaigua Outlet into the very lake itself. This is the only instance within my knowledge of the ascent of boats for transportation so high up; the ordinary point of landing, afterwards, being at Manchester, seven miles down. The only houses in Canandaigua were of logs; one occupied by Gen. Chapin near the outlet; one a little further north on the rising ground occupied by Smith, and one by Gardner near the old Antis house as at present known, and the other on the lot where the Oliver Phelps house stands, which had been built the fall before by Mr. Walker, an agent of Mr. Phelps. In this house Caleb Walker, his brother, died in 1790, and was the first person buried in the graveyard in Canandaigua.

From Canandaigua I went to Township No. 10, in the 4th Range, now East Bloomfield, where I found Jonathan Adams, one of the proprietors of the town who had come on from Schenectady with cattle and horses, accompanied by his large family, consisting of the following persons: Himself and wife, his sons John, William, Abner and Joseph; his sons-in-law Ephraim Rew and Lorin Hull, and their wives (his daughters); Wilcox, another son-in-law, and a younger daughter, afterwards the wife of John Key; Elijah Rose, a brother-in-law, wife and son, and the following named persons: Moses Gunn, Lot Rew, John Barnes, Roger Sprague, Asa Heacock, Benj. Goss, John Keyes, Nathaniel Norton and Eber Norton. Here Mr. Adams had erected two small log houses and one large one in which for the time being all these people found shelter. Mr. Adams in compliance with an arrangement with the proprietors furnished me with the necessary hands and provisions to fit out my surveying party, and I then commenced the survey of the town.

After finishing the survey of this township Frederick Saxton and myself surveyed and allotted Township 9 in the 6th Range (now Livonia, Livingston County), which proved to be one of the best townships of land in the Genesee country. To show however the inconsiderable value put

upon it at that time, I mention the fact that Gen. Fellows offered to sell the whole township to Mr. Saxton and myself at twenty cents per acre.

After completing the survey of this township, Mr. Saxton assisted me in the survey of Township No. 12, 1st Range. (Arcadia, Wayne Co.) Col. Hugh Maxwell, a surveyor, had contracted with Phelps and Gorham the previous year to run out into Townships the whole of that part of their purchase to which the Indian title had been extinguished. Not having completed the work, he entered into an agreement with Mr. Saxton and myself to survey a portion, consisting of about forty townships, which now constitute a part of Steuben County. We entered immediately on this survey, and completed it in the course of the season. While employed in it we made our headquarters at Painted Post on the Conhocton River, at the house of old Mr. Harris and his son William. These two men, Mr. Goodhue, who lived near by, and a Mr. Meade two miles up the river, at the mouth of a stream since known as Meade's Creek, were the only persons then on the territory we were surveying. Before we left, however, Solomon Bennet, Mr. Stevens, Capt. Jameson and Mr. Crosby arrived from Pennsylvania in search of a township for purchase and future settlement, and fixed on Township No. 3, in the 5th and No. 4 in the 6th Ranges, both lying on the Canisteo River, and soon after settled by these men. They are now known in whole or in part as the town of Canisteo.

In the Fall I returned to my father's in Salisbury by the water route in company with several persons from New England, who having spent the Summer at the West, were returning home to pass the winter.

In addition to the persons mentioned by me as found at Canandaigua in the Spring of this year (1789), the following came in during the Summer, viz.: Abner Barlow, Israel Chapin, Jr., Othmiel Taylor, Nathaniel Gorham, Dr. Moses Atwater, Judah Colt, John Call, Amos Hall, Ge. Wells, John Clark, Daniel Brainerd, John Fanning, Stephen Bates, Aaron Heacock, James Fisk, Jairus Rose, Hugh Jameson, Mr. Truman, Orange Brace, Martin Dudley, and Luther

Cole. The following came into Victor: Hezekiah Boughton, Enos Boughton, Jared Boughton, Seymour Boughton, 2d, Lyman Boughton, Zebulon Norton, Joel Scudder, Mr. Smith and Mr. Brace. Into Bristol, Gamaliel Wilder, Jonathan Wilder, William Gooding, Elnathan Gooding; into Geneva, Roger Noble, Phineas Stevens, Elias Jackson, Mr. Jennings, William Patterson, Peter Bortle. To Palmyra, Gen. John Swift. To Pittsford, Israel Stone, Simon Stone, Paul Richardson, Mr. Allen, Mr. Acker. To Irondequoit Landing, Mr. Lusk. To Brighton, Orange Stone and Chauncey Hyde. Also Capt. John Gilbert from Lenox, Mass. (father of John Gilbert, now of Ypsilanti, Mich.), who surveyed the town into lots. To Perrinton, Glover Perrin, and Caleb Walker. To Livonia, Solomon Woodruff. To Avon, Gilbert Berry, Capt. Thompson, Timothy Hosmer, and Mr. Rice (whose wife gave birth to the first child born on the Phelps and Gorham Purchase, who was named Oliver Phelps Rice). To Vienna, Decker Robinson. To Middletown, at the head of Canandaigua Lake, Col. Clark, Capt. Walkins, Lieut. Cleveland, and Ensign Parrish. To Lima, Abner Miles and Dr. Minor.

Among the incidents of this year (1789) in this western region, then just beginning to be inhabited, was the following: A Mr. Jenkins, who went out for the proprietors, John Swift and others, to survey Township 12, 2d Range (Palmyra), commenced his labors early in the season, and erected for the accommodation of his party, a small hut of poles. One night, when the party were asleep, two Indians attacked them, first firing their rifles through the open cracks of the hut, and then rushing in. One of Jenkins's men was killed by the first fire, but Jenkins and his party, after a brief struggle, succeeded in driving the savages off without further loss. He went the next morning to Geneva, where he learned that the Indian party to which they probably belonged had gone south. He accordingly, in company with others, followed in pursuit as far as Newtown (now Elmira), on the Chemung River, near which place the murderers were captured. Newtown was then the principal, indeed almost the only settlement in that region of country.

The Indians were examined before an informal assembly, and the proof being in their opinion, sufficient to establish their guilt, the question arose, as to how they should be disposed of. The gaol of the county (then Montgomery) was at Johnstown, and it was not deemed practicable to transport them so great a distance through an Indian wilderness. It was therefore determined summarily to execute them, and their determination was carried into immediate effect, an account of which I received from Jasper Parrish and Horatio Jones (afterwards Indian agents), who were eye witnesses of the execution.

Another incident occurred at Canandaigua during this year worthy perhaps of notice. The year was one of unusual scarcity among the Indians. Indeed they were almost reduced to starvation. Oliver Phelps having made a treaty with them the year previous they were to meet him this year to receive their stipulated annuities. As is usual on such occasions presents were provided for distribution among them, as well as articles of subsistence, of which it was known they stood in great need. The number of Indians assembled however greatly exceeded his expectations (increased doubtless by their starving condition), amounting probably to 2,000. The stock of provisions proving inadequate to their wants, they were driven to the necessity of devouring everything that could satisfy hunger, consuming with voracity even the entrails of the animals that had been slaughtered. They parted with almost everything that they had to purchase food, and did not disperse until they had nearly produced a famine among the white inhabitants.

Another occurrence of this season was the opening of a road from Geneva to Canandaigua, which was the first piece of road opened west of Westmoreland, now in Oneida County. The winter of 1789-'90 I spent at my father's in copying my field notes and finishing up my surveys.

During the winter of 1789-90 I entered into an agreement with Gen. John Fellows, one of the proprietors of East Bloomfield, to join him in the erection of a sawmill on Mud Creek in that town, about five miles west of Canandaigua. In pursuance of this plan we collected at Schenectady a

stock of provisions, tools, etc., necessary for the purpose. In May I embarked again at Schenectady for the West, taking with me these articles, and proceeded by nearly the same route as in the previous year except that I passed up the Canandaigua Outlet to Manchester now called, and thence transported my loading by teams to East Bloomfield. One of my companions in this expedition was Doctor Daniel Chapin, who resided many years in Bloomfield, and afterwards removed to Buffalo where he died. Also Oliver Chapin and Aaron Taylor and family.

I have heretofore remarked that the mode adopted to render Wood Creek navigable was to collect the water by means of a milldam, thus creating a sudden flood, to carry boats down. Sometimes boats did not succeed in getting through to deep water on one flood and were consequently obliged to await a second one. As we were coursing down the creek during the voyage on our first flood we overtook a boat which had grounded after the previous one, the navigators of which were in the water ready to push her off as soon as the coming tide should reach them. Among these persons was James Wadsworth of Geneseo, with whom I then first became acquainted. He was then on his way to the West, to occupy his property at Geneseo, which has since become so beautiful and valuable an estate. Gen. Fellows set out for Bloomfield on horseback, having sent on a team (two yoke of oxen and a wagon) with a moderate load and four or five cows. These were driven by some persons coming on to assist in building the mill, and among them Mr. Dibble the millwright. Gen. Fellows parted with the wagon near Utica.

During the previous winter the Legislature of New York had appropriated a township of land (called the "road township"), situated in what is now called Madison County, the proceeds of which were to be applied to opening a road west from Westmoreland. The job had been taken by contract and Gen. Fellows found the party cutting out the road not far from the present settlement of Onondaga. After Gen. Fellows reached Bloomfield, fearing that the team might not be able to get through with the materials for the mill, he

despatched me back to meet the party and help them along, At Cayuga Lake I met Mr. Dibble the millwright, from whom I learned that the team had left its load at Onondaga, and that the men with the cattle and wagon were coming on with a large number of settlers, as fast as the persons employed in opening the road with their assistance progressed with the work. I thereupon concluded to return to Manchester and take the boat I had left there and go to Onondaga for the loading. Taking Mr. Dibble and another man with me I went to Onondaga, and returned with the loading. The men and teams of the party reached Bloomfield at about the same time we did. I spent the summer chiefly in attending to the erection of the sawmill, occasionally doing some surveying, particularly Town 13, 4th Range, now Penfield, Monroe County, which had been purchased of Phelps & Gorham by Jonathan Fassett. The mill was finished in the fall, and was I believe the third one erected on the Phelps & Gorham purchase.

In December of this year (1790) I went in company with Orange Brace and two other persons on foot to Connecticut. The journey was a tedious and painful one, being made through a deep snow the whole distance, a part of which was accomplished on snowshoes.

The following are some of the persons who came into the country this year, viz.: To Canandaigua, Nathaniel Sanburn, Lemuel Castle, Seth Holcomb; to Victor, Hezekiah Boughton, sen., Seymour Boughton, sen.; to Bristol, Deacon Coddington, John Coddington, George Coddington, Francis Coddington, and Ephraim Wilder; to Pittstown (now Richmond), Peter, Gideon, William and Samuel Pitts; to Geneseo, James and William Wadsworth; to West Bloomfield, Benjamin Gardner (from Canandaigua), Robert Taft, Mr. Miller, Clark Peck, Esq. Curtis, Jasper P. Sears, Nathan Marvin, Lorin Wait, Amos Hall; to Avon, Gad Wadsworth, Mr. Ganson; to Farmington, old Mr. Comstock and his sons Jared, Darius, John and Otis, and Isaac Hathaway.

During the session of the Legislature in 1789-'90, a law was passed erecting the county of Ontario, to consist of all that portion of the State lying west of the east line of

the Phelps & Gorham Purchase. This was the first county set off from Montgomery. The following were the first officers appointed: Oliver Phelps, first judge; Timothy Hosmer (afterwards himself first judge), Arnold Potter and Israel Chapin, side judges; Judah Colt, sheriff, and Nathaniel Gorham, clerk.

I spent a part of the winter of 1790-'91 at my father's, and in February I left again for the West. I made the journey in company with John Fellows, son of Gen. Fellows, and two others, in a two-horse sleigh. At that time the only white settlements between Westmoreland and the Seneca Lake, were at Onondaga Hollow, where Gen. Danforth and Comfort Taylor had settled; and at what is now Eldridge in Cayuga County, where a Mr. Buck had located himself. On this journey we encamped for the night in a fine hemlock grove on the east side of the Owasco Outlet, where Auburn now stands.

During the early part of this season (1791), in carrying on the sawmill and making improvement on land, with occasional surveying, I became acquainted for the first time with Oliver Phelps. This was an important event in my life at the West, for it led not only to my permanent and steady employment for more than ten years (first for Phelps & Gorham, but always under the direction of Mr. Phelps himself), during which I became familiar with most of the transactions relating to land sales, surveys, etc., but was followed by a personal intimacy with him, from which I derived many important advantages. His friendship for and confidence in me never faltered, and I have consequently always retained the highest personal respect for his name and memory. From him I obtained most of the information I now possess relative to the early history of the title to the Genesee country, as that portion of the state purchased from Massachusetts by Phelps & Gorham was then called. As this history may not be familiar to all, I will give my recollections of it.

At the close of the Revolutionary War there existed conflicting claims between the States of Massachusetts and New York, as to the proprietorship of the country lying west of

the Mohawk, and extending west to the Pacific Ocean, each claiming under a Royal charter from the British Crown. The two States having ceded to the General Government so much of the territory so claimed as lay west of a line to be drawn from the western waters of Lake Ontario due south to the 42d degree of North latitude, the controversy, as it related to the residue, was settled by commissioners representing the two States, who met at Hartford in 1786. The result of their conferences was that the State of New York was to have jurisdiction over the whole territory, not ceded to the General Government, reserving and vesting in Massachusetts the right of preëmption from the Indians of all the country lying west of a line to be drawn due north from milestone No. 82 (being 82 miles due west from the Delaware River on the 42d parallel of latitude) in the north line of Pennsylvania to Lake Ontario; excepting therefrom a strip of land one mile in width lying along the easterly side of the Niagara River, and the islands in that river.

In the year 1788, the State of Massachusetts being much in debt, incurred in the final discharge of the Revolutionary army (which debt was evidenced by what were called "final settlement notes") sought relief and liquidation by a disposal of these lands. The State accordingly entered into a contract with Oliver Phelps of Granville, Mass., and Nathaniel Gorham of Charlestown in the same State, for a sale to them of the whole territory, in consideration of 300,000 pounds (Massachusetts currency), the whole of which might be paid in these "final settlement notes" at par, in three annual instalments; the market value of these notes being then about four shillings on the pound. For the payment of this consideration the State required the purchaser to procure personal guaranties. On the 12th May, 1788, Mr. Phelps, accompanied by Col. Hugh Maxwell, a Revolutionary officer of Heath, Mass., as surveyor, then 57 years old, and William Walker of Lenox as assistant, proceeded to Kanadesaga, now Geneva, for the purpose of making arrangements for holding a treaty with the Indians for the purchase of the possessory right to the whole or a part of the territory. On arriving at Kanadesaga he found the Indians

assembled in council with John Livingston of Columbia County, and Caleb Benton of Greene County, who represented a company known at that time as "the Lessee Company," for the lease of the tract lying immediately east of the Massachusetts claim. Mr. Phelps at once commenced negotiations, but as the Indians were not very numerously represented further proceedings were adjourned to a treaty to be held at Buffalo about the last of June.

This treaty was held at Buffalo in pursuance of this adjournment. Mr. Phelps was anxious to purchase all their lands within the Massachusetts preëmption claim; but the Indians were unwilling to sell any part of the country west of the Genesee River, alleging that the Great Spirit had fixed that stream as a boundary between the white and the red man. Mr. Phelps finding them quite immovable on this point, then represented to them that he was very desirous to get some land west of the river at the great falls, for the purpose of building thereon mills for the use and convenience of the white settlers coming into the country, and that these mills when built, would be very convenient for the Indians themselves. The Indians then asked him how much land he wanted for his mill seat. He replied that he thought a piece about twelve miles wide, extending from Conewaugas village on the west side of the river to its mouth (about 28 miles) would answer the purpose. To this the Indians replied that it seemed a good deal of land for a mill seat, but as they supposed the Yankees knew best what was required, they would let him have it. After the treaty was concluded the Indians told Mr. Phelps that it being customary for them to give to the man with whom they had dealt, a name, they would give him one. They also said they should expect from him a "treat," and a walking-staff (meaning some spirit) to help them home. The name they gave to Mr. Phelps on this occasion was that by which he was ever afterwards known among them, viz.: Scaw-gwn-se-ga, which translated is "the great fall." This purchase, which comprised what is now the city of Rochester, was thereafter called "the millseat tract." Its contents are about 200,000 acres!

The result of this treaty was the purchase of this mill-seat tract and the whole of the eastern portion of the Massachusetts claim, bounded as follows: North by Lake Ontario, east by the east line of the Massachusetts claim, which passes through a part of the Seneca Lake at Geneva; south by the Pennsylvania north line; and west by the Genesee River as far up as the mouth of the Canaseraga Creek, and by a line running due south from that point to the Pennsylvania line. The lands thus purchased at this treaty I shall hereafter have occasion to refer to as the "Phelps & Gorham Indian Purchase."

At the same time the Lessee Company concluded their arrangement with the Indians, renting from them for 999 years the tract lying east of the Phelps & Gorham purchase. The object of this company in taking their conveyance from the Indians in the form of a lease was to evade the preëemptive right. It was however so palpable a fraud on that right that the State of New York at once refused to recognize it, and it was declared void by the Legislature, at its next session. The lands were subsequently appropriated by the State to the payment of military bounties, and hence have since been known as the Military Tract. The agents of the Lessee Company, Messrs. Livingston and Benton, at this treaty rendered important services in aiding Mr. Phelps in his negotiations, and received from him two townships of land in what is now Yates County, which were afterwards known as the "Lessee townships," one of which is now named Benton, after the grantee above mentioned.

Messrs. Phelps & Gorham and the lessees, as soon as their treaties were concluded, determined at once to send surveyors to run out the line which was to divide their property, viz., the east line of the Massachusetts claim. Geneva was then a small settlement, beautifully situated on the bank of the Seneca Lake, rendered quite attractive from its lying adjoining an old Indian settlement in which was an orchard. This orchard had been destroyed by Gen. Sullivan in his celebrated campaign of 1779, but sprouts had grown up from it into bearing trees. As it was known the line must pass near this place, some anxiety was felt as to which party it might

belong. Col. Maxwell, on the part of Phelps & Gorham, and Mr. Jenkins, on the part of the lessees, as surveyors, proceeded to the point of beginning, at the 82d milestone, on the north line of Pennsylvania, and ran through to Lake Ontario a line known as the Preëmption line, which passed about a mile and a quarter west of Geneva, and which was the basis of the survey made by Phelps & Gorham. This line afterward was proved to have been incorrectly run; and it was charged that the incorrectness was in part a fraud of Jenkins, whose object was, to secure to his employers the Lessee Company, the location of Geneva. The suspicion of fraud led to a re-survey of this line, under the direction of Robert Morris, the particulars of which will be given in the sequel. The line being run, Col. Maxwell commenced immediately the survey of the tract west of it, and in the course of the season run out about thirty townships, and began the survey and allotment of Canandaigua.

The supposition was quite common that on ascertaining the western boundary of the Massachusetts claim (being the east line of the New York and Massachusetts cession to the United States), it would be found to include the harbor and town of Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Pa.) The State of Pennsylvania was anxious to secure to itself that point, and in the winter of 1788-'9 had made propositions to Phelps & Gorham for the purchase of it. At the request of Phelps & Gorham, the United States Government sent out the surveyor General Andrew Ellicott, in 1789, for the purpose of running and establishing this line. Frederick Saxton went with him on behalf of Phelps & Gorham. As this line was to commence at the west end of Lake Ontario, there was some hesitation at the outset in determining whether it should commence at the western extremity of Burlington Bay, or at the peninsula separating the bay from the lake. But it was at length fixed at the peninsula, and on the completion of the survey, by first running some distance south and then offsetting around the east end of Lake Erie, it was found to pass some twenty miles east of Presqu' Isle. This line now forms the western boundary of the State of New York, between Lake Erie and the old north line of Pennsylvania,

and is the eastern line of a tract known as the "Presqu' Isle Triangle," which was afterwards purchased by Pennsylvania of the United States, and is now a part of that State.

After the conclusion of the Indian treaty at Buffalo, in 1788, and as soon as the progress of surveys would permit, Phelps & Gorham commenced making sales, and up to the middle of the year 1789 had sold some thirty or forty townships, receiving small payments, chiefly in Massachusetts final settlement notes, with an understanding that future payments might be made in the same securities at par. It was in consequence of this system of sales that they were so large.

In consequence of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, not long after the purchase by Phelps & Gorham, it was anticipated that the General Government would assume the indebtedness of the several states, growing out of the War of the Revolution. The effect of this belief was to make the holders of State securities less willing to sell at low rates, so that Messrs. Phelps & Gorham, instead of being able to continue to sell rapidly, for this species of payment, sold comparatively little after about the middle of 1789, and during the year 1790 Congress did in fact assume the payment of certain State debts, among which were included these Massachusetts final settlement notes. The consequence of this assumption was to raise them at once to par and even above.


Having failed to make the payment of the instalment due to Massachusetts in 1789-'90, the State commenced a suit against Phelps & Gorham and their sureties. Phelps & Gorman were, however, enabled to effect a compromise with the State, by which it was agreed that Phelps & Gorham should reconvey to Massachusetts all that portion of their purchase to which they had not extinguished the Indian title, viz.: all west of the Genesee River up to the mouth of the Canaseraga, and thence due south to the Pennsylvania line, except the mill-seat tract above mentioned, and retain to themselves the remainder, supposed to be about one-third of the whole, paying therefor a sum proportioned to the

amount retained. It being understood that the final settlement notes were worth only four shillings on the pound when the purchase was made, the amount to be paid was estimated on that basis. This agreement was carried into effect in 1790 or thereabouts.

Meanwhile the rise of these public State securities, which had prevented Phelps & Gorham from fulfilling their contract with Massachusetts, in like manner prevented the early purchasers under them from making their payments. Consequently a considerable part of these lands sold, reverted to Phelps & Gorham in after years or were bought by Oliver Phelps and sold by him to other persons.

Early in 1790 Phelps & Gorham agreed to sell to Robert Morris of Philadelphia (the eminent financier of the Revolution) all the land in their Indian purchase, except what had been previously sold and were specially excepted, amounting in all to about fifty townships. Immediately after the purchase by Mr. Morris was concluded, in consequence of the suspicion always entertained of the incorrectness of the easterly line of the purchase (which had been run as before stated by Maxwell and Jenkins), he determined to have it resurveyed. He accordingly employed Andrew Ellicott, the Surveyor General of the United States, to run this line again. I was with Mr. Ellicott and assisted him in a part of his survey. It was made with great care, with the very best instruments then in use, and the result showed a very considerable difference between it and that made by Maxwell and Jenkins.

I joined Mr. Ellicott, while he was engaged in running this line, at the point where, in coming up from the south, it is brought in contact with the Seneca Lake. This point is from ten to twelve miles south of Geneva, a due north line from which would not touch the shore until it reached the foot of the lake, a distance of about twelve miles. From this, after concerting with Mr. Ellicott a system of signals, I traversed with my compass the west shore of the lake, and pursued this traverse around the north end, until I came to the meridian, as shown by my instrument, corresponding with that at my starting-point.



Mr. Ellicott and I, being now twelve miles apart, with an open expanse of water between us, could only communicate with each other by means of night signals. The mode of doing this was as follows: I raised two lights, one quite high, and the other less elevated. Mr. Ellicott did the same, both of us being provided with telescopes. He then moved his shorter light (his longer one being fixed on the line he was running) in the direction he wished me to move mine, right or left, until my shorter or movable light was on the true meridian; when as previously agreed on, he was to indicate I was right by placing his lower light immediately under his higher one.

The easterly line of the purchase was found to pass about as far east of Geneva as the other passed to the west of that place, and the triangle bounded by these two lines and Lake Ontario was found to contain about 84,000 acres. The Ellicott line passed through a portion of Seneca Lake east of Geneva. The west line of Phelps & Gorham's Indian purchase, running south from the mouth of the Canaseraga to the Pennsylvania line, which had been run by Col. Maxwell in 1789, I had about this time re-examined and found it substantially correct. The west line of the mill-seat tract, west of the Genesee River, had been run by Col. Maxwell in 1789. This tract, by the treaty of Buffalo the year previous, was to be bounded in substance as follows: Beginning on the west bank of the Genesee River, two miles north of Conewagaras Indian village, nearly opposite the now village of Avon, thence due west twelve miles, thence northerly to Lake Ontario, on a line to be run parallel to the general course of the river, thence by Lake Ontario and the Genesee River to the place of beginning on the river. Col. Maxwell, in laying out this tract, ran his line twelve miles west from the place of beginning on the river, and then assuming that the course of the river to its mouth was north, ran his line due north to Lake Ontario. As Mr. Morris had directed the re-examination of the two lines already spoken of, he also directed a re-survey of the west line of this mill-seat tract. This duty was committed to me. In making this re-survey it became necessary for me to determine what was

the general course of the Genesee river to its mouth from the point of beginning. The general course as ascertained was found to be North $21\frac{1}{2}$ deg. east, so that in running the west line of the tract on that course, a triangle containing about 90,000 acres, was left between the line run by Col. Maxwell and that run by me. As the townships were surveyed with reference to the line of Col. Maxwell, the variation of the line will account for the oblique manner in which the corrected line is brought in contact with the township lines between it and the Genesee River. This "triangle" is well known as being owned by LeRoy, Bayard & McEvers of New York to whom it was sold by Mr. Morris, as will appear hereafter, and within which, near its apex, the beautiful village of LeRoy is situated. From these resurveys of lines it was found that the amount purchased by Mr. Morris of Phelps & Gorham was about 1,200,000 acres.

Very soon after this purchase by Robert Morris he sold the whole of it to Sir William Pultney, and it has since been known as the Pultney estate. Sir William, through his agent, Charles Williamson, who resided at Geneva, commenced the sale of it to actual settlers. My recollection is that in this sale to Sir William, Mr. Morris cleared about \$70,000. It must, however, be borne in mind that Phelps & Gorham in their sale to Mr. Morris, excepted what had previously been sold (much of which reverted, as before stated), and reserved from the sale other townships and tracts, and that these sales and reservations constituted by far the better part of the Phelps & Gorham Indian purchase. This must be apparent from the fact that they were made after careful examination with a view to actual settlement.

Not long after the surrender by Phelps & Gorham of their preëmptive right to the country west of their Indian purchase to the State of Massachusetts, Mr. Morris purchased of that State, that right to the whole tract, and commenced reselling it in large quantities, stipulating at the same time to extinguish the Indian right. One of his first sales was to LeRoy, Bayard & McEvers of New York of the "Triangle," as has already been stated and described. He also sold to Watson & Greenleaf a parallelogram six

miles in width lying directly west of the Triangle, bounded north by Lake Ontario, and extending so far south as to include 100,000 acres. Watson & Greenleaf afterwards sold this tract to Oliver Phelps, who in 1795 sold it with other lands to DeWitt Clinton. In conveying to Mr. Clinton, Mr. Phelps executed to him a deed or deeds of the tract in two undivided halves, he paying to Mr. Phelps on this and other lands \$30,000 down, and executing two mortgages back, each of an undivided half. Mr. Clinton conveyed subject to the mortgage one undivided half to Charles Williamson, the agent of Sir William Pultney. The mortgage was paid off by Mr. Williamson, and the lands thus became part of the Pultney estate. The other half Mr. Clinton never paid for, and it reverted to Mr. Phelps. Mr. Clinton having given no bond or other personal security collateral to the mortgage, the debt was paid by a forfeiture of the mortgage. After the death of Mr. Phelps the interest of his estate in this tract was conveyed by his representatives to the State of Connecticut in payment of a debt due by him for lands purchased in the Western Reserve of Ohio. It was thus that half of this 100,000 acre tract became a part of the Connecticut school fund lands.

Mr. Morris also sold through Herman LeRoy, John Linklaen and others, to certain Holland companies, all that portion of his purchase of the State of Massachusetts, lying west of a north and south line to commence on the north line of Pennsylvania, twelve miles west from the southwest corner of Phelps & Gorham Indian purchase, and extending to Lake Ontario. He also sold to Andrew Craigie of Boston, a tract lying directly south of the Watson & Greenleaf tracts, and of the same width, six miles, to extend in a rectangular form so far south as to contain 14,000 acres. When, in 1798, the east line of the Holland Purchase was run out, it was found to cut off from the west side of this Craigie tract a strip some two miles in width, and would have taken a strip of equal width from the Watson & Greenleaf tract, but that the conveyance to Watson & Greenleaf was of earlier date than that to Herman LeRoy and others. Of the remaining lands held by Mr. Morris, a

portion was conveyed to trustees for the benefit of his honorary creditors, but previous to this conveyance he sold a large tract in the twelve-mile strip between the east line of the Holland tract and the west line of Phelps & Gorham's Indian Purchase, in what is now a part of Allegany County, to John B. Church, Esq., of the City of New York, the son-in-law of the distinguished Revolutionary general Philip Schuyler (Mrs. Church being the General's daughter). This sale to Mr. Church led to the settlement on the tract of his son, Philip Church, Esq., who gave to the place of his residence the name Angelica, after his mother.

Previously, however, to these large sales by Mr. Morris a tract of about 10,000 acres lying on the west side of the Genesee River, embracing the now village of Leicester, was given by the Indians to Joseph Smith and Horatio Jones, Indian interpreters. As Mr. Morris had yet to treat with the Indians for the extinguishment of their right to the whole country, he did not hesitate to confirm to their friends Smith and Jones, this gift. The interest of Smith in this tract was afterwards purchased from him by Mr. Phelps. That of Mr. Jones I suppose is now in the hands of his descendants, and of his surviving brother, John Jones.*

In the year 1797 a treaty was held by Mr. Morris with the Indians at Geneseo, at which the Indian title was obtained to the whole tract bought by him of the State of Massachusetts; except the lands comprised in ten Indian reservations (of which that of Buffalo was one), which are well known.

In July, 1791, I entered into the employ of Phelps & Gorham, whom I served chiefly for some years. In September of this year however, I was engaged in making surveys for Robert Morris, at the instance of his loyal agent, Adam Hoops, Esq., and spent the fall in running out townships and in resurveying the lines already spoken of. At the close of the year I again returned to Salisbury and passed the winter at my father's. During this year the first town

* Judge John H. Jones, the first judge of Genesee county when it extended from the Genesee river to the Niagara. See Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., p. 526.

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meeting was held at Canandaigua, then the only organized town in Ontario County. Thomas Morris, Esq., a son of Robert Morris, went to Canandaigua this year and took up his residence there.

In the Spring of 1792, while in the City of New York, I was tempted by the representations of a friend to visit Richmond, Va., for the purpose of seeking my fortune in that part of the Union. Finding after a short stay that the plans of my friend were not at all congenial with my habits of thinking and acting, I returned to the field of my former labors in Western New York. During the Summer I was engaged by Major Hoops, the agent of Robert Morris, in re-surveying lines and various tracts of land.

In October of this year I was attacked with bilious fever and during my confinement was visited at Canandaigua by my brothers Joshua and Peter B. Porter, who then for the first time came to the "Genesee country." With them, after my recovery, I returned to my father's, from where I went to Suffield and passed the winter with Mr. Phelps in making out surveys.

In the Spring of 1793 James Wadsworth came to see me at Salisbury for the purpose of obtaining my services in exploring a tract of land situated some fifty miles north of Schenectady, being part of what was known as the Totten & Crossfield tract, which in the rage for land speculation at that day, Mr. Wadsworth, James Watson of New York and others contemplated purchasing. Having agreed to make this exploration, I at once entered into it by proceeding with Mr. Wadsworth through Schenectady to the bend in the Sacondaga branch of the Hudson River, known by the name of "Johnson's fish house." On reaching this point we found so much snow as to prevent all progress in exploring, and Mr. Wadsworth therefore left me, with instructions to report the results of my examination to Mr. Watson in New York. As soon as the state of the weather would permit, I completed the examination and reported as directed. It is hardly necessary I should add that my report was in the highest degree unfavorable, and that the idea of Mr. Wads-

worth and his friends of purchasing these lands, was at once abandoned.

Mr. Watson however having in view the purchase of part of a tract owned by Walkins & Flint, situated between the south end of the Cayuga Lake and the Susquehanna River, agreed with me for an exploration of it, and also of a tract of some 10,000 acres lying in the neighborhood of Ogdensburg on the St. Lawrence. In pursuance of this arrangement I left Salisbury with one man to accompany me on foot, and crossing the Hudson at Catskill, proceeded to Owego. The whole country at that time, between Owego and the head of Cayuga Lake, and for many miles north of it, was an unbroken wilderness. After completing this exploration, I procured a canoe at the head of Cayuga Lake, and attended by a single assistant, started for Ogdensburg. We proceeded down the lake and outlet to Oswego, which was then a military post in possession of the English, who would not permit us to pass. As the land route from this place to Ogdensburg was an entire wilderness throughout, we abandoned the attempt to proceed further, and returned by water with the canoe to Schenectady. I went in person to New York to make my report to Mr. Watson.

While in the city I witnessed an incident of a most exciting character growing out of the strong popular feeling then existing in the country in regard to the French Revolution, and to the war then pending between France and England. The French Republican frigate *L'Ambuscade*, which was lying at anchor near the Battery, received a challenge from the English frigate *Boston*, then off Sandy Hook, to a combat. This challenge was promptly accepted by the Frenchman and the *Ambuscade* put to sea to meet her antagonist amid the cheers of assembled thousands, followed down the bay by numerous small craft filled with passengers, desirous of being spectators of the engagement. The meeting between the frigates took place in pursuance of the challenge. But while they were warmly engaged the approach of a French squadron to the New York harbor compelled the *Boston* to withdraw from the contest, and make her escape. The French fleet entered the harbor and sailed up

to their anchorage in the Hudson, accompanied by the Ambuscade, which vessel, bearing the marks of the recent hostile encounter, in tattered sails, wounded spars, etc., was an object that produced an enthusiasm bordering on frenzy among the multitude who had assembled on the Battery to greet her return. Shouts and cheers filled the air; the Battery was literally crammed with human beings. In the midst of these loud manifestations of sympathy for the French, an extraordinary excitement arose in one part of the crowd, the cause of which was soon apparent. A man was seen elevated above the heads of the multitude, over which he was passed as rapidly as possible, until he reached the enclosure at an adjoining street. Over this enclosure he was unceremoniously tossed among the boys and stragglers who pursued him with screams and jeers and all sorts of vile missiles, until he was out of sight. The offence which had brought on him this display of popular indignation was merely that in conversation with a fellow-citizen in the crowd, he had said the French were no match for the English in a sea fight on equal terms. These and similar manifestations of popular feeling produced the celebrated proclamation of President Washington, enjoining neutrality on the American people in the wars growing out of the French Revolution.

After making my report to Mr. Watson I again turned my face toward the Genesee country and proceeded to Canandaigua. I soon commenced the resurvey of townships for Mr. Phelps, which employment occupied me until fall, when I returned with him to Suffield and spent the winter in making out surveys and other matters connected with his land operations.

In the Spring of 1794 I again returned to Canandaigua, and was employed during the whole season in making surveys of various tracts for Mr. Phelps. In the fall I again returned with him to Suffield, where I spent part of the winter, and the remainder with him in New York, where he effected his large land sale to DeWitt Clinton, and other large sales to other persons.

During the Summer of 1794 the court house for Ontario

County was erected at Canandaigua. Thaddeus Chapin came this year to Canandaigua.

For several years previous to 1794 the United States had been at war with the Indians residing south and west of Lake Erie, and two of our armies, under St. Clair and Harmar, had been defeated. These successes of the Indians had excited among a portion of the Six Nations (who were encouraged in their disaffection towards this country by the British in Canada), a strong disposition to engage in a war against us. Our Government foreseeing the danger, appointed commissioners to treat for peace with the Western Indians, and in the early part of 1793 strong efforts were made to hold a council with them at Sandusky, but owing to their late successes and the influence of the British nothing was effected. In the Spring of 1794 Gen. Wayne took the field and marched into the Indian country with an efficient army, to prosecute the war.

During the Summer of 1794 Gen. Pickering had been appointed a commissioner to treat, and if possible to establish a good understanding with the Six Nations. He met them at Canandaigua in September. At first they manifested much of the spirit of unfriendliness that had been evinced by the Western Indians the year before at Sandusky, and a favorable result seemed for a time quite doubtful, but better influences finally prevailed (of which the success of Wayne at the West was an important one), and a satisfactory treaty was concluded.

In the Spring of 1795, I again left Suffield for Canandaigua. At Salisbury I was joined by my brother Peter B. Porter, who had decided to settle at Canandaigua in the practice of the law. During this season I acted as agent for Mr. Phelps in the management and sale of his lands, and in surveying for him. In the latter part of August of this year I went to Presqu' Isle (now Erie, Pa.), in company with Judah Colt. At this time all that part of the State lying west of Phelps & Gorham's Indian purchase was still occupied by the Indians, their title to it being yet unextinguished. There was of course no road leading from Buffalo eastward except an Indian trail, and no settlement whatever on that

trail. We traveled on horseback from Conewagus (now Avon) to Buffalo, and were two days in performing the journey. At Buffalo there lived a man named Johnson, a British Indian interpreter, also a Dutchman and his family by the name of Middaugh, and an Indian trader by the name of Winne.

From Buffalo we proceeded to Chippewa, U. C., where we found Capt. William Lee, with a small row-boat, about to start for Presqu' Isle, and waiting only for assistance to row the boat. Mr. Colt, Mr. Joshua Fairbanks,* now of Lewiston, and myself joined him. Two days of hard rowing brought us to that place, where we found surveyors engaged in laying out the village, now called Erie. Also a military company under the command of Gen. Irwin, ordered there by the Government of the State to protect the surveyors against the Indians. Col. Seth Reed (father of Rufus S. Reed and grandfather of Charles M. Reed) was there with his family, living in a marquee, having just arrived. A Mr. Reese was also there, acting as agent for the "Population Company," for selling and managing their lands, of whom Mr. Colt and I purchased 2,000 acres. We returned in the same boat to Chippewa, and from thence on horseback by way of Queenston on the Indian trail through the Tonawanda Indian village to Canandaigua.

During this expedition from Buffalo to Erie, a very remarkable circumstance presented itself to us, the like of which I had never before seen, nor have I since witnessed it. Before starting from Buffalo we had been detained there for two days by a heavy fall of rain, accompanied by a strong northeast gale. When off Cattaraugus Creek on our up-

* Joshua Fairbanks arrived at Fort Niagara in 1791, from Geneva, having coasted along Lake Ontario. O. Turner has recorded an incident in Mr. Fairbanks's own words: "We made a short call at Fort Niagara, reporting ourselves to the commanding officer. He gave us a specimen of British civility, during the 'hold-over' after the Revolution. It was after a protracted dinner-sitting, I should think. He asked where I was going. I replied, to Chippewa. 'Go along and be d—d to you,' was his laconic verbal passport." Mr. Fairbanks kept a tavern for a time at Queenston, then settled at Lewiston, of which place he was a leading citizen for many years. He reestablished himself, after the ruin which the war had wrought, and in 1817 began a mercantile business in the firm of Fairbanks & Thompson. He was a school commissioner in 1817, and in 1835, was one of the incorporators of the Lewiston Railroad Company.

ward passage, about one or two miles from land, we discovered some distance ahead a white strip on the surface of the lake, extending out from the shore as far as we could see. On approaching this white strip we found it to be five or six rods wide and its whole surface covered with fish of all the varieties common to the lake, lying on their sides, as if dead. On touching them however, they would dart below the surface but immediately rise again to their former position. We commenced taking them by hand, making our selections of the best, and finding them perfectly sound we took in a good number; indeed if we had desired we might have loaded our boat with them. On reaching Erie we had some of them cooked and found them perfectly good. The position of these fish on their sides in the water, placed their mouths partly above and partly below the surface, so that they seemed to be inhaling both water and air, for at each effort in inhaling bubbles would rise and float on the water. It was these bubbles that caused the white appearance on the lake's surface. I have supposed that these fish had from some cause, growing out of the extraordinary agitation of the lake by the gale from the eastward, and the sudden reflux of water from west to east after it subsided, been thrown together in this way, and from some unknown natural cause had lost the power of regulating their specific gravity, which it is said they do, by means of an air bladder furnished them by nature. I leave it to others, however, to explain the phenomenon.

During this season (1795) Nathaniel W. Howell of Canandaigua and General Vincent Mathews, late of Rochester, first came to Canandaigua to attend court, their residence being at that time at Newtown, now Elmira.

In 1796 I entered into an agreement with the Connecticut Land Company to superintend as chief surveyor, the survey of that part of Ohio called the Connecticut Reserve, which had been purchased the year before of the State of Connecticut by a company under that name. I was authorized to employ such number of surveyors and assistants and to provide such articles of outfit for the expedition as were necessary. Early in April I commenced the work of preparation,

Schenectady being the place of rendezvous. I employed as assistant surveyors Seth Pease, John M. Holley, Richard M. Stoddard, and Mr. Warren. Mr. Pease, a brother-in-law of the late Hon. Gideon Granger of Canandaigua, was an accomplished mathematician and astronomer. Such a selection was deemed indispensable in consequence of the important duty to be performed, of ascertaining with accuracy the point where the 41st degree of north latitude intersected the west line of the State of Pennsylvania, that parallel being the south boundary of the reserve. Early in the Spring Mr. Pease was sent to Philadelphia to procure the necessary number of surveyors' compasses from the manufactory of the celebrated David Rittenhouse, whose instruments were at that time universally preferred; and to procure also such other instruments as the nature of our business required.* Having accomplished the object of his mission, he joined me at Albany, where I was engaged in other preparatory measures.

Gen. [Moses] Cleaveland of Connecticut was employed by the company to act as the general agent to quiet all Indian interference that might be offered in opening the land for sale as soon as a portion of it should be surveyed. Joshua Stow of Middletown was of our party, and was charged with the duty of superintending transportation. The number of persons who went forward from Schenectady in four batteaux, including surveyors and their crews, was about twenty. I assisted in fitting up the boats, and then left on horseback for Canandaigua. The party in charge of the boats proceeded without interruption or accident, except the loss of a man by drowning at Spraker's riff, until they arrived at Oswego. Here they were stopped by the English, who still held military possession of the post, in violation of the treaty of 1783, although the time was then near at hand when its evacuation was about to take place. As the happening of this event was a matter of uncertainty, the party were unwilling to await it. They therefore re-

* The compass used by Augustus Porter in his surveys of Western New York and the Western Reserve of Ohio, 1789 to 1796, and his case of draughting instruments of the same period, are now in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

sorted to a strategem to pass the fort, in which they succeeded. They withdrew a short distance up stream, apparently to await permission to pass. During the night, which was quite dark, they dropped down with such silence, that they cleared the fort unseen, and before daylight were out of sight on their way westward. On their arrival at Fort Niagara, however, no such detention took place, that post having within a day or two previous been given up.*

On reaching Canandaigua I purchased a quantity of pork and flour for the expedition, and had it forwarded by way of Irondequoit, Niagara and Queenston, to Chippewa, from whence it was transported to the reserve. While at Canandaigua, I purchased about ten pack-horses, and an equal number of pack-saddles, and about ten head of cattle for beef. I also hired a sufficient number of hands, in addition to those coming on in boats, to fit out our five surveying parties. The horses and cattle were taken on by these men to Buffalo, by the Indian trail. While here I was joined by Gen. Cleaveland from Connecticut, in company with whom I proceeded to Buffalo. Here a number of Indians had assembled, among whom were Brant, Farmer's Brother, and Red Jacket, for the purpose of presenting some claim to the country we were going to survey. Gen. Cleaveland listened to the statement of their claim, but found very little difficulty in satisfying it after a day or two spent in council, by distributing among them about \$2,000 worth of presents. Our boats from Schenectady, and our men with the cattle from Canandaigua, had in the meantime arrived. The whole expedition then moved on, a part of the men in boats, and the remainder with the cattle by land.

That division of our party which proceeded west from Buffalo in boats, were two days in reaching Presqu' Isle.

*If Fort Niagara was not in British hands when Judge Porter's expedition reached it, his men must have taken 28 or more days to make the journey from Oswego, which is not credible. Oswego—Fort Ontario—was first occupied by Americans on July 15, 1796. Fort Niagara was not given up by the British until August 11th. Detroit was relinquished by the British, July 11th; while Mackinac did not pass into the hands of the Americans until October. It is probable that the main body of British troops—the Fifth Regiment—had withdrawn from Fort Niagara, before the arrival of the Porter boats, leaving a small detachment to await the coming of the American troops, who also came from Oswego.

These boats, one of which I had charge of personally, were each managed by four men, and were of a burthen sufficient to carry about fourteen barrels. On the morning after our arrival at Presqu' Isle, a gale came on from the westward which detained us two or three days. By this time our horses and cattle, which had taken the land route, overtook us, and were sent on to the isthmus connecting the peninsula with the main shore. The boats were also taken up to that point, during the gale. Here the boats were unloaded and dragged across into the lake above, by our men. From this place we reached Conneaut without further detention. On the 5th July all hands except myself and two or three others, commenced building a log house near the mouth of the creek, on the east side, which was in a very short time completed, and was large enough to receive all our provisions and stores, and to accommodate in a decent way the two men with their wives, and Gen. Cleaveland.

After leaving Presqu' Isle we were without any knowledge of the country, except that we were informed at Presqu' Isle that the mouth of the Conneaut Creek was about three miles west of the west line of Pennsylvania. The directors of the land company had however furnished me before I left Connecticut, with an old French map of the southern coast of Lake Erie, on which the mouths of all the principal streams discharging into the lake were indicated with their names, as they are now known, namely, Conneaut, Ashtabula, Grand River, Chagrin, Cuyahoga, Rocky, Black, Vermillion and Huron, also the mouth of Sandusky Bay. The Pennsylvania line on the shore of the lake, I found without difficulty. A stone placed by Andrew Ellicott in 1786, was found so marked and engraved as to indicate that it was on the west line of Pennsylvania. The latitude on which it stood was something short of the parallel of 42 deg, about three minutes, if I recollect right. By reference to a map of Ohio or of Pennsylvania, it will be seen that the line intersects the 42d parallel in the lake a short distance from the shore.

We all arrived at the mouth of Conneaut Creek, in Ohio, on the 4th day of July, 1796, where we celebrated the day by

the firing of muskets and drinking of toasts, not with wine in glasses, but with water seasoned with sugar and ginger, in tin cups. The whole party at this time consisted of 52 persons, two of whom were females. One was the wife of a Mr. Gun, who with her husband became settlers and passed their lives in the country.

A day or two after our arrival we were visited by a small number of Indians who lived a short distance up the creek, with the chief of the little tribe by the name of Pogh-quā. These Indians also preferred claims, which Gen. Cleaveland satisfied, as at Buffalo, by distributing among them \$500 or \$600 worth of presents in dry-goods. They then conferred on the General a name which they intended as a high compliment, it being after their chief, Pogh-quā, the chief himself presenting to him at the same time a pair of leggins, a pair of moccasins, and an Indian coat made of a blanket, which he frequently thereafter wore, and from his being a man of an uncommonly dark complexion, he was considered in appearance not a bad counterpart of his namesake.

That part of the Western Reserve to which the Indian title had been extinguished by Wayne's Treaty in 1795 was bounded east by Pennsylvania, west by the Cuyahoga River, south by the parallel of latitude 41, and north by that of 42. Within these limits our surveys were confined, except that the important duty was assigned to me to ascertain and report (for reasons that will hereafter appear), the entire quantity of land in the whole reserve, the boundaries of which were given as follows: East by the Pennsylvania line; west by a line 120 miles west therefrom, north by latitude 42, and south by latitude 41. It was known that these boundaries would include a portion of Lake Erie, and from circumstances I will mention hereafter the company desired that such surveys should be made, as would enable us to ascertain the quantity of land (not covered by water) embraced. For this purpose it was necessary that the whole shore of the lake should be traversed from the east to the west bounds of the territory. This service I performed personally, Gen. Cleaveland accompanying me. At this time there was not a white person residing on the reserve, ex-

cepting a Frenchman who lived with the Indians at Sandusky Bay.

In 1795, when the State of Connecticut sold this tract of country, three separate companies attended at Hartford, each with a view to purchase. Finding they could not operate successfully as competitors, they entered into a compromise by which two of the companies, one represented by Oliver Phelps, and the other by John Livingston, united in one and entered into an agreement with the third, represented by Gen. William Hull, afterwards Governor of Michigan. By this compromise the first two companies (united) were to purchase the whole tract then offered for sale, which was the whole reserve, excepting a half million of acres of the extreme western part, which had been previously granted by the State to certain of its citizens whose property had been burned by the enemy during the Revolutionary War, and which were for that reason called the "fire lands."* Gen. Hull's company were eventually to have all the lands thus purchased, over three millions of acres, at the average price of the whole. The two former thus united was called the Connecticut Land Company, the latter, the Excess Company. This shows why it became necessary to ascertain as early as possible the whole quantity contained in the territory, that the Excess Company might know the quantity to which it was entitled. During the time the survey was going on, this supposed excess was divided into shares, and became the subject of sharp speculation, the number of shares being 120. In one instance it was rumored that a single share was sold at a premium of \$2,000. On the completion of the survey it turned out that the Excess Company was not entitled to a single acre, and that the other purchasing company fell short some 200,000 acres of their quantity.

In a few days after our arrival at Conneaut, the proper steps were taken to organize four surveying parties, each consisting of a surveyor and seven hands. This being accomplished, we were to proceed south on the Pennsylvania line, our joint destination being the point on that line where

* The name is perpetuated in various usages, *e. g.*, the *Firelands Pioneer*, published at Norwalk, O., the Firelands Historical Society, etc.

the 41st parallel meets it, and also the southeast corner of the Western Reserve. That point being ascertained, our plan was to proceed west on that parallel, and at the end of each six miles, start a surveyor on a meridian to the lake. In adopting this plan we were influenced by two reasons: first, because we considered this the more proper point from which to begin our surveys; and second, because we might draw a considerable part of our supplies of provisions from the Ohio River, where we had been informed flour and bacon might be had, in any quantity and at reasonable prices, and if so, could be obtained much more easily than from Canandaigua, from whence we had not yet received sufficient for our wants.

All things being thus arranged for a start, and while mustering our hands for service, we found a highly excited and mutinous spirit among them, which on inquiry was found to be what would now be termed a strike. The movement was one in which all united, and a compromise and settlement became unavoidable. With this view Gen. Cleveland agreed with them that before the close of the season, and after some of the township lines had been run, a township should be selected and set apart, to be surveyed into lots, and that each individual of the party should at his election have the right of purchasing a lot on a credit at a stipulated price, which was I think, a dollar an acre. This settled the difficulty, all being satisfied. This township was in pursuance of this arrangement, set apart and called Euclid, which name I understand it yet bears.

The adjustment as above having been made, the four parties started, there being four surveyors beside myself. On arriving at the Mahoning River, a branch of the Beaver, Mr. Pease and the others of the party continued down the line as before arranged, while I with three men and as many pack-horses, went down the Beaver to its mouth, where was a place then called Fort MacIntosh, for provisions. At this place none were to be had, but we were informed that any quantity could be obtained at a place called Washington, about twelve miles below, on the Virginia side of the Ohio. We therefore provided ourselves with a large canoe, and

proceeded down to that place, where we succeeded in getting a quantity of flour to load our horses, but no more. We could get no meat.

We returned to the place where we had parted from Mr. Pease, and continued up the Mahoning, or near it until we arrived at the old salt works, said to have been occupied several years before by the distinguished Revolutionary general Samuel Holder Parsons, by permission of the Governor of Connecticut. General Parsons, it will be remembered, was drowned in the rapids of the Beaver, while descending that river in a boat, and that at the time of his death he held under a commission from Congress the office of Presiding Judge of the old Northwestern Territory.

At these salt works we found a small piece of open ground, say two or three acres, a plank vat of about sixteen or eighteen feet square, and four or five feet deep set in the ground which was filled with water and salt kettles. An Indian and squaw were here in the act of boiling water for salt, but from appearance, with but poor success.

We had been at this place but a short time when Mr. Pease and his party joined us. Mr. Pease had fixed the southeast corner of the Reserve, and had run a line due west therefrom 24 miles, having at the end of each six miles started a surveyor with his party due north for the lake, as had been proposed, he being himself with the party running the fourth and last meridian, which crossed the Indian trail we were on, less than a mile west of the salt works, and from five to eight miles north of the 41st parallel. On reaching the trail, finding from its appearance that we had not yet passed, he followed it eastward for the purpose of meeting us, and did meet us at the spring, less than a mile from his meridian line. This meeting was an important matter with Mr. Pease, for he had delivered over to the other surveyors all the provisions except a very small supply, estimated to be sufficient to subsist on until my return from the south. This scanty supply was all exhausted, when our meeting took place, and this brought to them flour only. Most fortunately for us, however, we found the same afternoon one of the finest bee-trees I ever saw. We at once en-

camped, cut down the tree and gathered the honey. Having eaten to our satisfaction, each man filled his canteen. What remained was put into the flour-bags and mixed up with the flour, ready to be baked into sweet cakes at our next place of encampment. From this time we were about ten days reaching the lake, during which, except while the honey lasted, we subsisted on flour alone. Of course our route northerly was on Mr. Pease's meridian. On our arrival at the lake we followed the beach eastwardly for headquarters at Conneaut, and what was quite remarkable, on our way there we fell in with all three of the other parties, who had brought their lines to the lake, and all arrived at the same time at Conneaut.

During our absence the house at this place had been completed, and General Cleaveland had held his conference with the Indians, as has already been stated. In a day or two, four surveying parties were started to run east and west lines, six miles from each other, from the Pennsylvania line to continue west until they should reach the Cuyahoga River. At the same time, taking with me the necessary number of men and supplies, with a batteau to accompany us along the coast, I commenced the traverse of the lake shore, for the purposes already stated. This party consisted of Gen. Cleaveland, Joshua Stow, Doctor Shepard, and Joseph Landon (who afterward settled in Buffalo, where he lived many years), together with three other men. On our way west we encamped one night near the mouth of Ashtabula Creek—I think west of it, but how far I cannot say. The next morning, the weather being calm and the lake perfectly smooth, we discovered bubbles rising rapidly on the surface, some two or three rods from the shore, very much as would be produced by the discharge of air from the bunghole of a cask filling with water. The suspicion occurring to us that it might be inflammable gas issuing from the bottom, we lighted a torch and applying it to the spot, the gas took fire, thus confirming the fact. The depth of the water was about two feet. On a beech tree directly opposite we noted the circumstance by a suitable inscription.

In making this traverse, Mr. Stow acted as flagman, and

was constantly always in the advance of others. Rattlesnakes were very plenty and he was the first to encounter them, which he did by killing them. I had mentioned to him a circumstance which had once happened to me, and which was that I had with two or three others, been three days in the woods without provisions, during which time we had killed a rattlesnake, which on being dressed and nicely cooked we had eaten with a high relish; but whether it was enjoyed as such from the delicacy and richness of the meat, or from the craving state of our stomachs, I could not say. Mr. Stow was a very healthy, active man, fond of woods life and its adventures, and determined to adopt all the practices of such a life, even to the eating of snakes. During almost every day while on the lake shore he killed and swung about his person from two to six large rattlesnakes, and at night a part or all were dressed, cooked and eaten by the party, all partaking, I believe, except Gen. Cleaveland, and all seeming to relish them, probably more from their being fresh, while our meat was all salt.

In making this traverse of the south shore of Lake Erie, it will be borne in mind, its object was to ascertain the entire area of the Western Reserve. To do this, it was necessary for us to penetrate some fifty miles into the Indian country, the Cuyahoga River being at that time its eastern boundary. In proceeding west, therefore, from the mouth of that river, the traversing party under my direction and lead, was accompanied coastwise by our boat, which contained our provisions, etc., and which would always afford us the means of escape in case we should be attacked by hostile Indians. We passed on however without any such interruption. Indeed we saw no Indians until we reached the western point at the mouth of Sandusky Bay. Here, near the site of an immense burial place we encountered a party of some twenty or thirty. Of their disposition toward us we could only judge from their manner, which appeared to us anything but friendly and conciliating. They examined our instruments very closely and minutely, and with apparently gloomy jealousy and disapprobation.

Being now very near the western boundary of the Re-

serve, as shown by my traverse, we pushed on as rapidly as possible (after a short interview with the Frenchman, from whom, owing to the want of a community of language we could learn nothing satisfactory) until we reached the point of our western destination, viz.: the western limit of the Reserve, which we found to be a short distance beyond Hat Island. Here, after setting our land-mark with all possible dispatch, we embarked in our boat, and giving the land a wide berth we held our way for the mouth of the Cuyahoga direct without touching at any intermediate point.

Soon after my arrival there I laid out by direction of Gen. Cleaveland a mile square of land into streets, etc., on which now stands the city bearing his name. After this, I began the traverse of the Cuyahoga River, with a view to ascertain the treaty line of Wayne, which was the Cuyahoga River up to the portage, and thence by the portage to the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum. This portage, which was nothing more than an Indian trail, I was unable to find. At best it must have been very indistinct, and was rendered entirely so by the leaves of autumn which had recently fallen. I traversed the river, however, until I found I had proceeded too far northerly for the intersection of the portage, and then gave up my search. This river, as will be seen by reference to correct maps, has its source in a latitude north of its mouth. Some ten or fifteen miles up the river from its mouth on the west side we found standing a log house of considerable size, evidently built by white people, about which there was however, no clearing. I understood at the time, from what source I am unable to say, that it was erected and occupied for some time by Heckewelder the missionary.*

Shortly after my return to Cuyahoga River from Sandusky, as before stated, Gen. Cleaveland left us to return

* This was probably the cabin which was built in 1761 by the missionary Christian Frederick Post. In 1762 Post and John Heckewelder occupied it. Heckewelder has left a most graphic account of his lonely and dangerous sojourn there, and of its final abandonment. He describes it as standing "on the east side of the Muskingum, about four rods from the stream," and a mile or more north of the Indian town Tuscarawas. This would indicate that it stood on the Tuscarawas branch of the Muskingum, and accords with Judge Porter's narrative.

home. He went down to Chippewa in one of our batteaux, in charge of Mr. Tinker who was then on his second or third trip after supplies. On our return from our survey of the Cuyahoga River to its mouth, we learned that Tinker, while on his trip up, had been driven ashore near the mouth of Chautauque Creek, now Portland, his boat stove, cargo lost and himself drowned. This accident was in its consequences very serious to us, as it cut off our supply of provisions too late in the season for us to hope for another, and we were consequently obliged to leave the country some weeks earlier than we intended. We left Cuyahoga as late, I should think, as the later part of October or first of November, in two boats, with perhaps ten or fifteen men in each. I recollect that in passing out of the mouth of the river, all hands were obliged to get into the water, to take the boats over the sand-bar.

During the early part of the season, say some time in July or August, a Mr. Kingsbury came with his family into the country and I believe continued to reside there, and became a judge of one of the earliest counties formed on the Reserve. Gen. Paine also came, and selected and purchased a farm near the Grand River. Nathan Perry purchased near the Chagrin, and afterward settled near the mouth of Black River.

I have already remarked that our western posts were this year surrendered by the British, and taken possession of by our troops, under the stipulations of Jay's treaty. The provisions to supply our troops at Detroit, had been furnished by Gen. O'Hara, late of Pittsburg, and by him transported to Detroit on pack horses by way of Fort MacIntosh, up the Big Beaver, by Parson's salt spring, Sandusky and Maumee. A horse branded with his name we found a little east of the salt spring, having a bell on, which was no doubt one of his that had strayed.

In the fall of 1796 I returned to Suffield and spent most of the winter in making up my surveys and maps of the Reserve, and in closing up my business with the Connecticut Land Company, having concluded not to remain longer in their service, although they were very desirous I should.

But as I had now a family, and had spent most of my time for seven years in the fatigues and hardships of a woods life, I determined to settle at Canandaigua and accept the agency offered me by Mr. Phelps of his land business. In accordance with this determination, in the latter part of February, 1797, I left Suffield with my family in a sleigh for Canandaigua, where I arrived early in March. I immediately entered into the service of Mr. Phelps, in settling and surveying his lands, and in collecting his debts. One of the first acts of my agency was to sell three or four farms on the road leading north toward Farmington. In running them out, as it was necessary I should, I caught a severe cold in the swamps, through which I was obliged to make my way by wading. From this circumstance I date the commencement of my deafness, which has since so much afflicted me.

During the winter of 1797 Gideon King and Zadok Granger, two of the proprietors of the tract of 20,000 acres in the north part of the township, one short range, which included the land on which Rochester now stands, and two or three other families from Suffield, had gone to the tract and commenced thereon a settlement. Mr. Phelps, my brother Peter B., and myself were also proprietors. The southern part of this township, being about 4,000 acres, was included in Mr. Phelps's great sale to DeWitt Clinton. It was subsequently sold, subject to the mortgage given by Mr. Clinton for the purchase money, and eventually passed through the hands of Charles Williamson to the Pultney estate. This 20,000 acre tract was sold originally by Phelps & Gorman in 1790, to a company of gentlemen of Springfield and Northampton, Mass., among whom were Ebenezer Hunt, Quartus Pomeroy, and Justin Ely. The tract was bounded north and west by the north and west lines of the township, east by the Genesee River, and south by a line parallel with the north line, and so far distant therefrom as to contain 20,000 acres, excepting and reserving therefrom 100 acres which had been previously sold to Ebenezer Allan, for the purpose of erecting a mill thereon, which 100 acres were to be located in as near a square form as the windings of

river would permit, commencing at the center of the mill, and extending an equal distance up and down the river, then back so far as to contain the 100 acres in the above form. This tract of 100 acres was purchased of Ebenezer Allan by Charles Williamson in behalf of the Pultney estate, by whom it was subsequently sold to Col. Rochester and others. The Allan mill stood very near where the Erie Canal aqueduct now crosses the Genesee River. The lines of this 20,000 acres had been run by Frederick Saxton, in the summer of 1790. It may not be uninteresting to state here that this 100 acres embraces the most densely and valuably built part of the city of Rochester; that all the present titles within it are derived from Allan, who never himself had any other known paper title than that which is derived by implication from the exception above mentioned in Phelps & Gorham's deed to the Springfield & Northampton Company.

In May of this year 1797, I went to this 20,000 acre tract, and after first running out the Allan 100 acres, according to the description above given, proceeded to survey it into farm lots, excepting a portion about Hanford's landing, which was laid into village lots.

This year as has before been stated Robert Morris purchased the Indian title to all the lands to which he had previously purchased the preëmptive right of the State of Massachusetts, lying west of Genesee River, excepting twelve separate tracts which the Indians reserved, known by the following names, viz.: Caneadea, Gardeau, Squakie Hill, Little Beard's, Big Tree, Conewagus, Tonawanda, Tuscarora, Buffalo, Cattaraugus, Alleghany and Seneca Oii Spring.

The treaty held by Mr. Morris for the purchase of these lands was concluded the latter part of August. Major Hoops,* the agent of Mr. Morris, engaged me to make as speedily as possible such surveys as were necessary in order to ascertain the whole quantity of lands, to which he had purchased the preëmptive right. On the first of September I left home, accompanied by Mr. Joseph Ellicott. We commenced the survey on the south shore of Lake Ontario,

* Adam Hoops, the founder of Hamilton, now Olean, N. Y.

twelve miles west of the mouth of the Genesee River, at the northwest corner of the mill-seat tract, from thence along the shore of said lake, west to Niagara River, up that river on the east side to Lake Erie, and along the south shore of that lake to the northeast corner of the Presqu' Isle triangle. The east line of this triangle to the old north line of Pennsylvania, as well as the said north line to the southwest corner of Phelps & Gorham's Indian purchase, had been formerly established, as well as the whole western boundary of said Indian Purchase. The data were thus obtained by which to ascertain the whole quantity purchased by Mr. Morris. After making the calculation I prepared a copy which I delivered to Major Hoops. The original I retained until 1813, when it was burned with other papers when my house was destroyed by an invading British force. Owing to this circumstance I am unable to give the quantity.

During the summer of 1798 I was engaged in surveying at the instance of Joseph Ellicott, the agent of the Holland Land Company. I surveyed this year the Indian reservations at Canadea, Squakie Hill, Little Beard's Town, Big Tree, Conewagus, Buffalo and Cattaraugus.

The winter of 1798-'99 I spent at Canandaigua except that I made a journey to Albany in January, and another to Salisbury in February.

On returning to Canandaigua after completing the survey for Robert Morris, in company with Mr. Joseph Ellicott, we travelled down the lake to Buffalo, chiefly on the beach, there being no road, and as yet none other than an Indian trail from Buffalo to Conewagus, now Avon. There was then (1797) but one dwelling house between the two places, which was owned by a Mr. Wilber. It was situated at the point where Mr. John Ganson afterward built a large house and kept a tavern many years, and is about one and a half miles east of LeRoy.

In 1800 I built a dwelling-house in Canandaigua, opposite the Academy, in which I resided until the year 1806, when on removing with my family to Niagara Falls, I sold it to John Greig, Esq., by whom it was occupied many years. Here at Niagara Falls, except during the War of 1812, I

have continuously resided. In 1813 an invasion by the British troops took place, which resulted in laying all the settlements on the frontier, Buffalo included, in ashes. My dwelling, mill, etc., at Niagara Falls, shared in the common desolation. The alleged justification of this system of warfare was the burning of Newark, now Niagara, U. C., by the troops of the United States under the command of Gen. George McClure, on his evacuating Fort George, a few weeks previous.

During the last years of my residence at Canandaigua I was interested with Mr. Phelps and Nathaniel and Birdseye Norton in a contract with the United States for the supply of provisions to the garrisons of Niagara, Detroit, Mackinaw, Chicago and Fort Wayne. This connection with Mr. Phelps continued indeed until his death, which occurred in the winter of 1809. In 1810 I took this contract in my own name, and supplied the above posts until 1813, except during the period of their occupation by the enemy after the surrender of Detroit by Gen. Hull. These transactions led to my early connection with the commerce of the lakes.

EARLY NAVIGATION ON THE LAKES.*

I have resided in Western New York since the spring of 1789, and on the Niagara River since the spring of 1806. I first visited Lake Erie and the Niagara River in August, 1795; and from an early period, until within the last twenty years, have been more or less interested in the navigation of the Lakes.

It is well known that the military posts of Oswego, Niagara, Detroit and Mackinac were not surrendered to the United States until the fore part of the year 1796, under Jay's treaty. Boats had not been permitted to pass Oswego into Lake Ontario, and as no settlements of importance had been made previous to that time on the American shores of

* Judge Porter's reminiscences of early navigation on the Lakes were published in the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, Mch. 27, 1846. For the sake of completeness they are here appended to the foregoing narrative. No other historical writings by him are known.

the Lakes (excepting the old French settlements in the neighborhood of these ports, and they were under the jurisdiction and influence of the British Government), no vessels were required and of course none had been built.

In August, 1795, I left Canandaigua, in company with Mr. Judah Colt, on a journey to Presqu' Isle, now Erie, Pa., where Mr. Colt afterwards settled. The country west of the Genesee River, excepting a tract twelve miles in width extending from opposite Avon along the river to its mouth, had not then been purchased of the Indians, and no roads opened. We of course followed the Indian trail to Buffalo. At that time the only residents at that place, as far as I recollect, were William Johnson, the British Indian interpreter, whose house stood on the site of the present Mansion House, an Indian trader named Winnee,* a negro named Joe, also a trader, both of whom resided on the flats, near the mouth of Little Buffalo, and a Dutchman by the name of Middaugh, with a family, who resided some forty or fifty rods east of Johnson's. A large portion of the ground now occupied by your beautiful city was then an unbroken wilderness.

By advice of Mr. Johnson, we concluded to go down to Chippewa, Upper Canada, to take passage in a small sail and row-boat, owned by Captain William Lee, with which he had made several voyages to Presqu' Isle, where settlements were just commencing, and had taken up the family of Col. Reed, the father of Rufus G. Reed. Capt. Lee had no crew engaged, and only made trips when he could obtain passengers enough able and willing to work their passage.

Mr. Colt, Mr. Joshua Fairbanks of Lewiston, and myself joined Capt. Lee. Leaving our horses at Chippewa, we set out on our voyage and reached our destination in safety. We found several families commencing their settlement of Erie, and a party of surveyors laying out the town, under the protection of a company of Pennsylvania militia commanded by Gen. Irvin of Carlisle. While we remained we shared the hospitalities of Col. Reed in his marquee, his house not being ready to occupy. Without entering into

* Cornelius Winne or Winney.

further details, I will merely add that we had a safe and pleasant passage back to Chippewa, and Mr. Colt and myself crossed the Niagara at Queenston on our return home.

I am not aware that at that time a single vessel was owned on the United States side of the Lakes, and remember that Capt. Lee, who would have known, informed me that there were none.

In 1796, I was employed by the Connecticut Land Company, to survey the Western Reserve, and I prepared to go on early in the season with several other surveyors and a party of men to perform the work. At Schenectady we fitted out three batteaux manned with four hands each, with the necessary articles for the expedition, such as tents, blankets, cooking utensils, groceries, etc., with a quantity of dry goods, designed as presents to the Indians.

These boats were put under the care of Joshua Stow, uncle of Judge Stow of Buffalo. Understanding that the military posts of Oswego and Niagara were to be given up to the United States early this Spring, under a stipulation in Jay's treaty, Mr. Stow took the route by Oswego and Niagara to Queenston. On his arrival at Oswego, that fort had not been surrendered, and the boats were not permitted to pass. Determined not to be delayed, Mr. Stow took the boats a mile or two up the river, and the night following run them past the fort into the lake, and pursued his voyage, and before arriving at Niagara that post had passed into the possession of our troops. He landed at Queenston, had his boats and loading taken to Chippewa, where he took in provisions to complete his cargoes, which had been purchased at Canandaigua and forwarded by the way of Irondequoit and the lake in open boats and arrived a day or two before.

At Buffalo he was met by others of the party who had come on by land, among these, Gen. Moses Cleaveland, one of the directors of the Connecticut Land Company, (from whom the city of Cleveland took its name), who by way of securing the good will of the Indians to the expedition, held a council and distributed presents among them. The expedition went on from here, a part by the boats, and a part by land with pack-horses, and arrived at the mouth of Con-

neaut Creek on the 4th day of July, 1796, and celebrated the day. The party then consisted of fifty-two persons.

No American vessel had yet been built, and some of the baggage and stores for the troops at Detroit had been transported from Western Pennsylvania, by the contractor, Gen. O'Hara, up the valley of the Big Beaver, and through the wilderness to Detroit, on pack-horses.

The first American craft that I know of, as navigating Lake Ontario, was a Schenectady batteau, fitted out for a trading expedition to Canada, in 1789, by John Fellows of Sheffield, Mass., its cargo mostly tobacco and tea. On arriving in the Oswego River he ascertained that he would not be permitted to pass the British post at Oswego, and he manifested no little resolution and enterprise in overcoming the difficulty. He took his boat up the Canandaigua outlet, to what is now Clyde, where he built a small log house (long known as the block house) to store his goods until he cleared out a sled road to Sodus Bay, whither he transported boat and goods and pursued his voyage, and by the aid of some secret friends disposed of his cargo to great advantage, and brought his boat back into Irondequoit Creek and sold it to a man by the name of Lusk, who had that year begun a settlement at that place.

In 1798 a small schooner of thirty tons, in which I had an interest, was built at Hanford's Landing, on the Genesee River, about three miles below Rochester, by Eli Granger, and called the *Jemima*.

Between the years 1796 and 1800 (I am unable to particularize the year) the schooner *General Tracy* was built at Detroit, and in August, 1808, purchased by Porter, Barton & Co. and thoroughly repaired, and on her second or third trip was wrecked on the Fort Erie reef in 1809.*

* The first vessel bearing the American flag which floated on Lake Erie was the sloop *Detroit*, of 70 guns, bought of the Northwest Company by the General Government in 1796, but soon condemned as unseaworthy. In the same year a small schooner, the *Erie Packet*, was built in Canada to run between Fort Erie and Presqu' Isle (Erie, Pa.). She was lost near the latter place the same year. The schooner *Wilkeson*, which, as Judge Porter says, was built at Detroit—one authority says in 1797—navigated the lake for some years. In 1810 or 1811 she was overhauled and her name changed to the *Amelia*. In 1812 she was bought by the Government and formed part of Perry's squadron in the

The brig Adams, a Government vessel, was built about the same time as the General Tracy, and was sailed by Capt. Brevoort for a number of years. She was built at Detroit.

A small vessel called the Good Intent was built at Presqu' Isle by Capt. William Lee, and I believe was partly, and perhaps wholly, owned by Rufus S. Reed. She I think was built about 1800 and wrecked near Point Abino in 1805.

In 1802 or 1803 the schooner General Wilkeson of 70 tons was built at Detroit, and in 1811 thoroughly repaired and her name changed to Amelia. One half of her was purchased of Solomon Sibley by Porter, Barton & Co. in 1811. She was sold to the United States during the war.

In the winter of 1802-'3 the sloop Contractor of 64 tons was built at Black Rock by the company having the Government contract for the supply of the military posts, under the superintendence of Capt. William Lee, by whom she was sailed until 1809, and afterwards by Capt. James Beard. In 1803 or 1804 a small sloop called the Niagara, of 30 tons, was built at Cayuga Creek, on the Niagara River, by the United States Government, but not put in commission. She was purchased by Porter, Barton & Co. in 1806, and her name changed to the Nancy, and sailed by Capt. Richard O'Neil.

In 1806 the schooner Mary, of 105 tons, was built at Erie by Thomas Wilson, and purchased, the one half by James Rough and George Bueshler, and the other half by Porter, Barton & Co., in 1808, and sailed by Capt. Rough until the war, and then sold to the United States.

In 1808, Porter, Barton & Co. purchased the schooner Ranger, then several years old, of George Wilber. She was repaired and sailed by Capt. Hathaway. In 1810 the sloop Erie was built at Black Rock, by Porter, Barton & Co. and sold to the United States in time of the war. The schooner

battle of Lake Erie. The schooner Good Intent, 35 tons, was built in 1800 and lost on Point Abino in 1805, with all her crew. In 1799 the brig Adams and schooner Tracy were built by the Government. The Adams was taken by the British in 1812, and afterwards retaken and burnt. In 1810 the schooner Catharine was built by S. Thompson and others, at Black Rock; she was bought by the Government and was in the battle of Lake Erie under the name of the Somers. Up to the declaration of war, 1812, there were not over fifteen sailing vessels on Lake Erie.

Salina, sailed by Capt. Dobbins, and the schooner Eleanor, and probably others that I do not now recollect, were built and sailed before the war, but I am unable to say where and when they were built, or by whom owned.

Messrs. Rufus S. Reed, Bixby & Murray, of Erie, and others whose names I do not recollect, built and owned vessels on the lake. Mr. Reed was largely interested in transporting over to Waterford and Pittsburgh.

On Lake Ontario, I find that previous to 1809, and during that year, the following vessels had been built, and were engaged in the commerce of the lake:

Schooner Fair American, owned by Matthew McNair of Oswego, Theophilus Pease, master; schooner Lark, I. Goodwin, master; schooner Island Packet, Wm. Howell, master; schooner Eagle, — Baldwin, master; schooner Mary, Edward M. Tyler, master; schooner Farmer, Samuel Carver, master; schooner Two Brothers, A. Bennet, master; schooner Experiment, C. Holmes, master; schooner Democrat.

Some time previous to the war [1812] the United States brig Oneida was built and commanded by Capt. Woolsey.

In 1809 the schooner Ontario of 70 tons was built by Porter, Barton & Co. at Lewiston, and sold to the United States during the war.

In 1809 the schooner Cambria was built on an island at the lower end of Lake Ontario, and brought in an unfinished state to Lewiston, where she was purchased and fitted out by Porter, Barton & Co., and her name changed to Niagara.

In addition to the foregoing vessels the following were in commission in 1810: Schooner Diana, A. Montgomery, master; sloop Marion, schooner Charles & Ann, Gold Hunter, and Genesee Packet. Messrs. Matthew McNair, Townsend, Bronson & Co., Thomas H. Wentworth, and Capt. Eagle, were the principal owners and forwarders on Lake Ontario previous to the war.

A number of vessels on both lakes, owned and armed during the war by the United States, were afterwards sold and employed in the commerce of the Lakes.

LETTERS BY AUGUSTUS PORTER

With one exception the originals of the following letters are in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, all but the last two having been preserved with the Holland Land Company's papers. The letter to Myron Holley (Niagara Falls, Jan. 3, 1817) was published with the report of the Canal Commissioners for 1817. In connection with the preceding autobiographical narrative, and Mr. Robinson's admirable review of Judge Porter's career, the publication of these letters—until now, unprinted—may be welcomed. They appear as written, correction or annotation being uncalled for.

[no place]

MR. JOSEPH ELLICOTT

SIR: If you should not procure the provisions which you are wanting on the terms which you now propose, and should conclude to employ some person to purchase and put it up, I will undertake the business for you at one dollar per bbl, of purchasing, putting up in good order and transporting to the different places as you may direct, you to pay all expences which shall accrue excepting my own time—or if you should wish to purchase Oxen, Horses or any thing of that kind in this Country, you will please to give me directions if you think proper & I will faithfully attend to the business.

I am Sir your Obt
Servt.

AUGS PORTER.

Nov. 29th, 1797.

BUFFALOW CREEK Oct. 15th 1798.

DEAR SIR: I arrived at this place last Evening from Kateragus, having completed the Reservation at that place. on my arrival I received your letter dated at this place, and shall immediately attend to its contents. am very sorry that I did not arrive in time to have made out the Maps & field notes to forward by Mr. Barker the bearer, but suppose there will be no difficulty in finding opportunities hereafter. I am Sir with due Respect

Your Obedient Servt.

AUG'S PORTER.

Joseph Ellicott, Esq.

BUFFALO CREEK, Oct. 16, 1798.

DEAR SIR: Inclosed is a map and survey of the Kateragus Reservation. By the survey you will find that one of the north south lines is not run a due north as was directed, but that it varies 25 to East. this was occasioned by an alteration of variation of the needle on the line to which the above line was to run parallel too, but this

error was so small that I concluded (by the advise of Mr. Thompson) not to correct it, but to lay off as much land on the north side of the tract as was excluded by this error. Otherwise I the Survey is exactly agreeably to orders, containing the exact quantity of acres, as I run the closing line (which was the north eight mile line) through and corrected it back.

I shall tomorrow begin the survey of the Reservation at this place, having this moment received your letter of this day's date by Capt. Johnston, every part of which I shall endeavor to attend strictly to.

I shall agreeably to your request forward by the same conveyance which conveys this, a line to my brother respecting Mr. Stoddard's traverse of the road. And

Remain, Sir with respect
Your Obt. Servt,

AUG'S PORTER.

Joseph Ellicott, Esq.

CANANDARQUE NOV. 17. 1799

MESSES. CLARK & STREET.

The Bearer Mr. Landon is employed by me to take on some Loading from Niagara to Presqu' Isle; should be glad to have your assistance in sending it from Queenston to Ft. Erie, or perhaps he may only want your aid to deliver it at Chippawa. If you will give him such assistance as he may want, in forwarding his loading to Presque Isle, I will account to you for the expense & trouble on receiving your bill by Mr. Landon. I will also request you to send me your bill for transportation of loading last July—which shall be paid on receiving the Bills.

I am, Sirs, your
Obt. Servt.

AUG'S PORTER.

CANANDARQUE, March 25th 1802.

SIR: The republicans in this county are determined to support at the ensuing Election for Members of Assembly, persons professing republican sentiments, and in conformity with this determination have pick'd on yourself as a proper person to be supported, and have requested me to write you on the subject, and know if you will suffer yourself to be considered as a candidate. In forming your determination on this subject, I believe you may do it with the fullest assurance of success in case [?you] are run. I therefore hope and request that you will not refuse. You will be so good as to give me an answer on the subject as soon as may be.

I am, sir, with esteem, Yours respectfully,

AUG'S PORTER.

Mr. J. Ellicott.

ALBANY, March 7th 1803

DEAR SIR: I have this day written to Colo. Fish proposing to him whether it might not be best, for yourself, and him, and his friends to enter into a compromise relative to the organization of your County.

As this is soon to take place & as unanimity is important in your County I would suggest to you whether if he should come forward and make some proposals to you relative to a compromise whether you had not better relinquish a part of your arrangement, and suffer him to participate in some of the Offices of the County.

Mr. Phelps is in this place and informs me that a short time before he left home he had the pleasure of seeing you at Canandaigua, where it was agreed that you was to be one of the Candidates for member of Assembly at the next election. To this I most cordially concur and will thro' the little influence which I have into the scale to promote your Election.

I this day received the petition of the Supervisors of the County of Ontario to be authorized to raise money to build a bridge across Genesee River, it has come rather late in the session but I shall if possible get a law passed, giving them that power.

A statement by Judge Livingston of the trial of the Indian at Canandarque has been laid before the house of Assembly this day, and no doubt from what passed but he will be pardoned.

Nothing very important has been done by the Legislature this Session, we go on very harmoniously with very little opposition from the Feds. as they are in the Senate only as about one, to two Republicans, and in the Assembly, as about one to four.

I am Sir respectfully your obedient Servt

AUG's PORTER.

J. Ellicott, Esq.

CANANDARQUE, April 21st, 1803.

DEAR SIR: I wrote you a few days since that Polidon B. Wisner, with others, would be supported in this quarter for member of Assembly. Since that time the republicans in this quarter have agreed to support John Swift in place of Wisner. I hope it may suit you to support Swift.

Our ticket then will be, John Swift, Ezra Patterson and Daniel Chapin for Assembly, and Caleb Hyde for Senate.

I am sir, respectfully your

Obt. Servt

AUG's PORTER.

Mr. J. Ellicott.

CANANDARQUE [no date.]

DEAR SIR: On my return from Albany I lodged one night with your brother, we had conversation relative to the persons to be supported for Assembly at the ensuing election. Polidon B. Wisner, Dan'l Chapin and my brother, it was supposed would be run by the republicans, and your brother informed me he had written you to that effect. But since that time my brother has declined being considered a candidate, and we have here agreed to run Ezra Patterson of Geneva in his place. I hope this may meet your approbation, if so hope you will support him.

Gen'l Caleb Hyde of Tioga is the republican candidate for Senator for this district.

I am sir respectfully

Your obt. servt.

AUG's PORTER.

Mr. B. Ellicott.

CANANDARQUE Feb'y 13, 1804.

SIR: The bearer Mr. Landon tells me he understands that you are irrecting a building which you design for a Hotell, he now goes to Batavia with a view to obtain of you a lease and privilege of keeping it.

Mr. Landon tells me he is unacquainted with you, and has requested me make him known.

I can say that I have for several years been intimately acquainted with him and have had considerable business to transact with him, that I have always found him to possess strict integrity and honesty. His wife is from a very respectable family and is herself respectable.

If you have not leased your house and should conclude to let it to Mr. Landon, I promise he will keep it to your satisfaction he possesses considerable property which would perhaps enable him to commence the business under better advantages than almost any one who would undertake it.

I am sir respectfully your Obt
Servt

AUG's PORTER.

Joseph Ellicott, Esq.

CANANDARQUE, March 31st, 1804.

SIR: The election is just at hand, and no men are yet proposed except by the Federalists to be supported for Assembly. Your name has been much talked of, and I have not the least dout, but if you will agree to be the Candidate that you can be elected by a great Majority. From an unhappy misunderstanding which happened between us one year ago you may perhaps entertain doubts as to my sincerity in the present proposition, but if you will agree to run I conclude the result of the Election will convince you of our sincerity. I assure you that you can run well in the eastern part of this county. I expect Daniel Lewis of Geneva & yourself will be supported in this quarter, & I think N. Gorham or Daniel Chapin for the other. It may be objected by some that Mr. Lewis & Mr. Gorham are Federalists, but I expect that Lewis will be supported by all parties in his own neighbourhood.

Be so good as to write me immediately on the subject as it is of consequence to promote our Candidates soon.

As to Governor I have not heard who you intend to support. I should like to hear what part you intend taking in that business—for myself I shall support Colo. Burr, but I shall now declare to you that whichever of the candidates you support for Governor it will make no kind of difference with me as to giving you my support for Assembly.

I am sir, respectfully your
Obt. Servt,

AUG's PORTER.

J. Ellicott, Esq.

SCLOSSER July 14th 1806

SIR: The bearer Mr. Short, is a gentleman of my acquaintance who has sold his property in the County of Ontario, for about four thousand dollars, he is now in pursuit of a place to resettle himself,

from information from me he has been induced to go on to the S. W. part of the Holland Company's Land to view the country and examine the Outlet of the Chautauqua Lake, with respect to its navigation. I have had some conversation with Mr. Short respecting the salt trade from Onondago to Pittsburgh, and as the great difficulty of that trade is that of transporting the salt from Lake Erie to Alegena river, Mr. Short has been to explore the Outlet of the Lake and also French Creek, to satisfy himself which is the most eligible for navigation.

If Mr. Short should have a wish to settle himself on the waters of the Chautauqua I prosume he would be a useful man in giving aid to a settlement in that quarter. You may be assured that Mr. Short is a man of business and sustains the character of an honest and respectable man. I should be extremely glad if he could be accommodated with a situation that would suit him.

I am sir respectfully

Your Obt. Servt

Joseph Ellicott, Esq.

AUG's PORTER.

SCHLOSSER Sept. 15th 1808

SIR: I have a neighbor who is desirous of taking up and settling two tracts of land lying in township No. 13 in the 9th Range, one tract is described as part of lot No. 10 and was taken up in Feby 1805 by James Turer[?], the other tract is described as the north part of lot No. 19 and the south part of lot No. 15, and was taken up by Zachariah Warner on the 13th day of May 1804. Some little improvement has been made on these lots but they are as I am informed now abandoned. The man who wishes to take them now can procure an Assignment of the Articles given by the Holland Company in case the price can be reduced to the present price at which you are now selling lands in the Neighbourhood. If you will be good enough to inform me I will communicate the information to my neighbour.

I am respectfully your

Obt. Servt

Jos. Ellicott Esq.

AUG's PORTER.

Schlosser, August 28th 1809.

SIR: The Bearer goes out to Batavia to take up a lot of land. I am indebted to him and he call'd on me for money to pay the sum required to be advanced on the lot, & not having it by me I take the liberty to request you to consider this as my order on you for twenty seven dollars, to go in payment of the advance he is to make on the lot he is about to take up. The amount of this order I shall be able to pay you in a short time.

I am Sir respectfully your

Obedient Servant

Joseph Ellicott Esq.

AUGS PORTER.

FORT SCHLOSSER, Feb'y 25th 1810

DR SIR: On the 28th of August last I gave Gilbert Hinds an order on you for \$27, to apply as payment on a lot of land he took up about that time. I now enclose a Bank bill of \$20, and a County

order of \$10, out of which you will please receive the ammount of the order above mentioned, and endorse the residue on A. Porter & B. Barton's Note.

You will be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of this by return of Mail.

I find that the settlers on Tonawanta Creek are felling large quantities of timber into the Creek, by which means the navigation of the stream is very much injured, and the timber floating down the current has done great damage to the Bridge near the mouth and was very near last spring carrying the whole off. I believe the navigation naturally from its mouth to the Indian Village is very good & I believe in time may be very useful to the country. The people along this river are much interested in the safety of the bridge, and I presume you are in the Navigation. Would you not be willing to write to Mr. Clarke our representative and request him to use his influence to procure this stream declared a public highway from its mouth to the Tonewanta Village ? or such distance as you may deem proper to preserve the Navigation.

I have written him on the subject, and prosuming there can be no objections to such a measure, as I conclude there is no mill seats in this distance, the stream therefore must be more valuable for navigation than for any other purpose.

I am sir Very respectfully your Obt. Servt

AUG'S PORTER.

Joseph Ellicott Esq.

Manchester March 20th 1810.

SIR: Two weeks ago I enclosed to you in a letter a county order of ten dollars and a Bank bill of \$20, to which letter I have received no answer. As it contained money you will confer a particular favour if you will inform me whether or no it has been received.

I am Sir very respectfully

Your obdt. Servt.

Joseph Ellicott Esq.

AUGS PORTER

MANCHESTER, Dec. 27, 1815

SIR: I send you a copy of so much of a letter rec'd from my brother dated the 4th Instant at New York as relates to the subject of a steamboat.

"I have made very particular inquiries in respect to the expense of a steam boat and I find that an excellent engine with all the machinery to carry a boat of 100 tons (which after deducting the weight of the engine &c. will leave 70 tons for freight) will cost 13,000 to 13,500 dollars. The boat will cost about 4,000 dolls. and Fulton's exclusive right for the Niagara about 3,000 dolls, making an aggregate of about 20,000 dolls. The men with whom I have conversed, Ogden & others, think there is no difficulty in making her stem the rapids altho the current should be 7 miles an hour.

"I shall leave this for Washington in the morning and be here again the fore part of January. In the mean time I wish you to consult Mr. Barton, Townsend &c. & write me your determination, as no time should be lost if you conclude to build, instruct me to make the necessary contracts. Mr. David Parish is about to build a

steam boat to run from Ogdensburgh to Niagara and an other company is forming to run from Buffalo to Detroit."

I shall by mail tomorrow write my brother giving him instructions to make contracts for the engines &c. agreeably to the understanding yesterday. In case you should have any different ideas on the subject please communicate them in time that I may understand them before writing.

Yours respectfully

[To Charles Townsend.]

AUG'S PORTER.

NIAGARA FALLS, January 3d, 1817.

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 9th of August last was received, requesting of me answers to the following questions, viz.:

What is the kind of rock, through which your canal is excavated?

What is the length, depth, and width of such excavation? What was the expense of it?

What, in your opinion, would be the expense of excavating a canal, 30 feet wide, and 5 feet deep, for one mile, through the common limestone rock, lying between Lake Erie and Genesee River? In reply to these inquiries I would answer. The kind of rock is horizontal strata or layers of limestone, of 6 to 24 inches thick. The horizontal joints, between these layers, are so open, that there is very little difficulty in separating the layers. These layers are separated by perpendicular cracks, dividing them into irregular and unequal slabs, of from one to 6 or 8 feet square. These slabs are so sound as to blast well, and are very pure limestone, so that an augur, suitably tempered, will not batter, but will last until the friction on the stone wears it out.

The length of my canal is 20 rods, its width 7 1-2 feet, on an average, its depth in the rock 5 feet, besides one foot of earth on the top of the rock.

It cost about \$500.

To excavate a mile of the same kind of rock, the same width and depth, would of course cost \$8,000. My canal being the depth required, viz. 5 feet, and one fourth part of the width required, viz. 7 1-2 feet, it follows that four times as much rock would require to be removed from a canal 30 feet wide and five feet deep, as from one of the size of mine: In that proportion, then, it would cost \$32,000 per mile. It is however my opinion, that one of 30 feet wide, would by no means cost in the same proportion, for the following reasons:

First, because in first making an opening, the rocks are all bound together in such a manner, that it is difficult to remove any single stone or rock without blasting; and at least one half of the blasts have little or no effect. Whereas, after an opening is made, the rock being separated both by horizontal and perpendicular joints, many of them may be removed without breaking, either by hand or the aid of cattle; and those too large to be removed whole may be broken by a sledge or with a single blast.

Secondly, the width of the canal will enable you to remove very large rocks, by the aid of oxen, much easier than they could be hoisted by a windlass, which was the way most of mine were done. Many of those which I was obliged to blast to enable me to handle

them, might have been removed by oxen, could I have used them. For these reasons I have no doubt, that a canal through the same kind of rock, which mine passes (and it is the same as that which prevails generally between Lake Erie and Genesee River), of 30 feet wide and 5 feet deep, might be made for double what one of the size of mine would cost, viz. it might be made for \$16,000 per mile.

I am, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

To Myron Holley, Esq.

AUGUSTUS PORTER.

[One of the Canal Commissioners of the State of New York.]

Bank of Niagara 3d July 1818.

DEAR SIR: A Gentleman of the board of Directors of this Bank has an inclination to resign his seat; it has ever been our wishes to induce you to become a member of this board. Permit us therefore to solicit you to consent to fill this vacancy, as a measure tending to draw the respectability and promote the welfare of the institution.

We are mo. Respecty Sir

Your Very Ob Sert,

AUGS PORTER, ARCHD. S. CLARKE, J. BRISBANE, JNO. G. CAMP,
E. WALDEN, J. HARRISON, BENJAMIN CARYL.

Joseph Ellicott, Esquire, Batavia.

The Bank of Niagara was Buffalo's first bank, organized in July, 1816. Augustus Porter was one of the original directors, as Mr. Robinson has stated (p. 260). Accepting the invitation of Judge Porter and his associates, Mr. Ellicott became a director, but resigned in 1819. The original desk used by Isaac Kibbe, the first president of the bank, is now in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society.

An amusing reminder of the political animosities between Federalists and Republicans a century ago is afforded by a letter from James B. Mower of Canandaigua, to Joseph Ellicott, dated May 7, 1804, in which we read: "Augustus Porter alias the *political trimmer*, is *down*, and in God's name let him be there." Another glimpse of Judge Porter's interest in politics is afforded by a letter from Jonas Williams to Mr. Ellicott, dated April 10, 1807: "Last Tuesday I attended Town Meeting, the people were quite Noisy and chos Daniel Chapin Supervisor, Gillet Town Clerk &c. In the evening the republicans called a Meeting and agreed firmly to Support the Ticket you sent me, and to have their proceedings published in the *Messenger*. Augustus Porter drew up the resolutions and appeared to be a firm friends to Tompkins, which was rather unexpected to most of the People in Buffalo." [Ellicott MSS.] Judge Porter was public-spirited, and independent: his character as shown in the foregoing pages is ample answer to the epithets of a forgotten campaign.

JUDAH COLT'S NARRATIVE

EXPERIENCES AS PIONEER SURVEYOR IN WESTERN NEW YORK,
AND AS AGENT FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA POPULA-
TION COMPANY, 1789-1808.*

I was born at Lyme, in the County of New London, in the State of Connecticut, on the 1st day of July, 1761. My father's name was Joseph; he was born 27th February, 1727, and died on the 15th of October, 1787. He was married to Desire Pratt, 11th of May, 1755. Of our family there were five sons and three daughters. The first-born was Josiah, who was born 5th September, 1757, and died June, 1777; Deborah was born 27th October, 1759; myself, 1st July, 1761; Desire, born 11th April, 1763; Assenath, born 19th October, 1764; Joseph, born 17th April, 1766; Samuel, born 23d June, 1771; Jabez, born 19th January, 1772.

From the time of my birth until I arrived at the age of twenty-three years I resided the greater part of my time in my father's family, assisting him in working his farm from Spring until Fall, and in the winter months was sent to the common English and grammar schools, where I learned reading, writing and arithmetic; and having made considerable proficiency in these branches I taught a school during

* Now first published, from the original manuscript, by kind permission of the owner, Miss Frances L. Spencer, Erie, Pa. Extracts from it are utilized in Sanford's "History of Erie County, Pennsylvania." Some portions relating solely to family and personal matters are here omitted.

the winter of 1782 at Saybrook, North Society; in the winter of 1783 in the North Quarter of Lyme, in the winter 1784 in the Old Society of Lyme; and after laboring with my father on his farm from first of April, 1784, until first of November following, I resolved to become acquainted with the world, and obtained the consent of my parents to let me make a voyage to the south'ard.

Accordingly on the 15th day of November, 1784, took passage in the sloop Betsy, Elnathan Hatch, master, for North Carolina, and sailed same day. On the 16th we fetched into New London harbor, where we continued until the 23d, when we again sailed for the Carolinas; but meeting with adverse winds and tempestuous weather, we were sundry times drove off the coast, and after being drove to and fro from the day we left the harbor of New London until the 1st day of January, 1785, we made the Island of Bermuda, where we continued until the 1st of February, disposing of a perishing cargo and repairing our vessel.

We again set sail for N. Carolina. We again had to encounter sundry severe gales of wind, and after a passage of 14 days we made the harbor of Ocrecoch [Ocrecoke], N. Carolina, and sail'd from thence to the town of Bath, at the mouth of Tar river. While our vessel lay there I hired me a horse and rode to Newbern, situate about 40 miles west [southwest] at the junction of the Neuse and Trent rivers. After spending a short time in that quarter I returned to Bath, and from thence we sailed to the island of Mattamuskeal up the Sound toward Edington, where I continued until about the 23d of April, during which time I taught a school about two months. The 24th I took passage in a packet boat, for the Capes of Ocrecoke and from thence took passage in a small sloop bound to New York, where I arrived the last of April, after a pleasant passage of about seven days. From thence took passage in a vessel for Connecticut, where I arrived about the 1st of May, after being absent about six months and two weeks; had the pleasure of finding my parents, brethren and sisters in good health, and made welcome by them. While absent on this tour, which on account of the season of the year was very dangerous, I

was in imminent danger of being lost at sea, but my time was to be prolonged; and as usual, on setting out on my voyage, the prayers of the Church were put up at the request of my parents for my safe return, and my pious parents, I have reason to believe, prayed to God daily for my safe return. Their prayers I trust were heard. As this was the first of my going abroad, I was as unacquainted with the ways of the world as a young man of my age could be; of course had much to learn, and many obstacles and difficulties to encounter.

I continued in my father's family, laboring with him in the farming line, until about the first of August following, when I received an invitation from my uncle Harris Colt to accompany him on a tour to Vermont, to explore a township of land of which he was an agent and my father a small shareholder. I accompanied him to Arlington in Vermont, where Governor Chittenton* then resided. On inquiry we were informed that the township was not run off by the surveyor general, and could not be subdivided into lots as was our intention to do. We returned back to Williamstown, where I engaged in a school, and took an affectionate leave of my uncle, who returned back to Connecticut.

I continued in this place teaching school until April, 1786, when falling in company with a Mr. Thomas Sheldon, a merchant residing at Lansingburgh, State of New York, I engaged to live with him. I accordingly took leave of my friends at Williamstown and went to live with Mr. Sheldon, tending to a store of dry-goods and keeping of accounts, where I continued until April 1787; there I formed an agreeable acquaintance and time passed off very pleasantly. Having been absent from my father's family about ten months I felt it my duty to return home and pay them a visit. I arrived at Lyme about the first of May, where I found my friends all well.

I continued with them until about the first of June, when I began to think and talk of returning to Lansingburgh. My father appeared desirous to have me settle down on part of

* Thomas Chittenden, Governor of Vermont from 1778, before its formal separation from New York was recognized, till 1789, and again, 1790-97.

his farm and become settled, and made me proposals which were such as a kind parent would do; but having seen a better country for obtaining an estate by labor, than the one I was raised in, I excused myself from accepting his offer, and gave him such reasons as I conceived satisfied him. I however discovered in his countenance and conversation his anxiety for my present and future welfare; [he] cautioned me against falling into bad company, against vice and immorality, and to walk in the paths of virtue, for which I thanked him.

About the first week in June, 1787, I took leave of my affectionate parents, brothers and sisters, and set out again for Lansingburgh. I never saw my father again. After returning to Lansingburgh I continued in the employ of Thomas Sheldon, and lastly a few months with Mr. Stephen Gorham, who was then a respectable merchant in that village. About the 1st of November I was informed by letter of the death of my father who died as above related about the 15th October. I immediately closed up my affairs in that quarter and returned to my friends at Lyme. . . .

I continued at home during the fall and winter, assisting as one of the administrators with my mother in settling the estate, and dividing it among the heirs, which I trust was done to the mutual satisfaction of all concerned. The division of the estate took place 23d-25th March, 1787. As the spring opened I once more took hold of the plow, and with my brother Joseph commenced husbanding the farm, which we prosecuted to good effect. For the first time however in this quarter, be it remembered, the wheat crops were generally cut off by the Hessian fly, and among others was the wheat which was on our farm.

On the 20th May, 1788, I set out on a journey to view a piece of land situate and lying in the upper branch of the Canada Creek which falls into the Mohawk a few miles above the German Flats, then Montgomery County and State of New York, being part of a tract of land known as the Royal Grant, it being a piece of land I held in common with Richard Sill, Esq., who then resided in Albany, and who had purchased this tract of land the year before at

public sale. My intention was to have made an improvement on it if I should have fancied it for a farm, which by the by did not suit me; and after a short stay in that quarter, which was then an entire new country, I returned back to Lyme, 13th June, where I spent the summer and ensuing winter residing with my mother and brethren and sisters.

In the autumn of this year 1788 a treaty was held with the Six Nations of Indians at the Seneca Lake, Genesee country, now the town of Geneva, by Oliver Phelps and one of the Livingstons. They succeeded in part, but the principal purchase was put off until the year following. From the time of [my] return, viz., from 13th June, 1788, to the 30th May, 1789, nothing took place worth relating; my time was principally taken up in farming business, [and] settling the affairs of the estate of my deceased father. [I] occasionally rode abroad to some of the neighboring towns on parties of pleasure, and having it in contemplation for some time of taking another tour westward, I left the care of all domestic concerns with my brother Joseph Colt, and on the 1st day of June, 1789, I set out [on] my journey westward, with full determination of fixing on some place for a permanent settlement; having, previous to my setting out, shipped some provisions, farming utensils, clothing, &c., for Albany, which were transported by water by way of New York to Albany (1st June, 1789); and after taking an affectionate leave of my aged mother, brethren and sisters, I set out [on] my journey for Albany, where I arrived on the 4th of June. It was in this place I remained for some days in a dilemma what course next to pursue, whether to go and begin to work on the tract of land I owned situate on Canada Creek, Montgomery County, or to accompany Oliver Phelps, Esq., and sundry other adventurers to the Genesee Country, who were then at Albany and were shortly to set out for that quarter.

After deliberating for some time I resolved to relinquish the idea of settling on the land above mentioned, and to accompany Mr. Phelps westward, who had used many persuasive arguments for that purpose. And as kind Providence would order it, it proved to be a very fortunate ad-

venture, respecting which I shall be more minute in relating circumstances than [of] some former periods of my life.

My goods, &c., which I had shipped to this place arriving, I rigged the wagon, and put in one of Mr. Phelps's horses with mine, took part of his baggage, and on the 6th inst. set out [on] our journey for Geneseo, about 13 persons in company. We drove our wagon to the German Flats, and the road being rough our wagon broke and [we] left it and proceeded from thence on horseback, every one carrying his own baggage &c. We proceeded up the Mohawk river, through a scattering Dutch settlement, neither the country nor the manner of the people any way inviting and the accommodations very poor. We crossed the Mohawk river at Fort Schuyler, where Utica is now builded, in the afternoon of the 10th inst., at which time there was but one or two small log houses. We proceeded westward 10 miles, and put up at a Mr. Blackman's for the night, it being the farthestmost settlement west of the Mohawk river.

From thence we proceeded westward, following a bridle path, passing through the Oneida Castle, and at night encamped on the Canesheraga Flats. Here my horse failed and could not keep up with company longer. A Mr. Ebenezer Curtis agreed to continue with me, and move on as fast as my horse was able.

On the 12th we reached to the Onondaga river and put up at a Maj. Danford's near the Salt Springs, and the only white family we found after leaving Blackman's except a man by the name of Alburt or Talbut who resided in the Castle of Oneida.

On the 13th we arrived at the Cayuga Lake, where a family by the name of Richardson resided, who ferried our horses across the lake in two canoes lashed together.

On the 14th, arrived at the village of Geneva and put up at Gilbert or Beny's. [?] My horse gave out after crossing the outlet of the Seneca Lake and [we] left him by the roadside.

On the 15th, I returned back to see about my horse, and found him in the mire, attempting to cross a muddy run, and

under but his head, and with the assistance of some boatmen hauled him out; he lived a few days and died.

On the 16th remained at Geneva, and at night put up at Thomas Pean's[?] about two miles west of Geneva, and on the 17th set out on foot for Canadarque where I arrived the same day in the afternoon about 5 o'clock. Took shelter in a cabin then occupied by Gen. Israel Chapin. Felt very much fatigued, and from the remote situation of the place and no provisions but what was brought in boats from Albany & Schenectady, there was a great scarcity of all the necessities of life.

On the 18th I was invited to reside in the house then occupied by Oliver Phelps Esq., who treated me with much hospitality, as he did all other adventurers who came into the country with him.

On the 22d inst. I contracted with O. Phelps Esq., and a Mr. Dennis from Norwich to survey a township of land for them situate on the Genesee river, known by No. 11 or Honeoy township.

On the 23d June, 1789, I set out on a surveying tour and encamped that night on the banks of the Honeoy Creek; on the 24th arrived at the Genesee river and began to explore the Flats or interval land on the river; on the 25th began to survey the flats, where I continued until the 29th, surveying, ascertaining the contents of the meadow or interval land, drawing a plan of the township, accompanied by a Mr. George Denny, whom I assisted in drawing lots for the small shareholders. I returned back to Canadarque on the evening of the 29th. The day following was taken up in exploring the lands in and about Canadarque.

1st July, 1789. This is my birthday, and have arrived at the age of 28 years. During all these years have been preserved from accident, enjoyed uniform good health, been liberally clothed and fed, by a bountiful Providence to whom the praise be given.

On the 2d I purchased of Oliver Phelps a lot in the town of Canadarque known by No. 4, west of Main Street, and same day began to clear and girdle the timber, on which I

afterwards built a dwelling-house and resided several years.

On the 7th, accompanied Oliver Phelps Esq on a tour to the Genesee river, Big Tree Town put up at night near the Honeoy Lake, fell in with a party of Indians, held a short council with them some provision and liquor, for which they were very thankful.

On the 8th we arrived at the Genesee river, in company with Col. John Ely and his son Eliott, who were on their return from Niagara.

On the 9th proceeded down the river in company with Mr. Phelps, and at evening put up at a Mr. M. who resided on Township No. 11, 7th Range.

On the 10th we returned back to Canadarque.

From the 11th to the 25th I continued the same of the time at Canadarque and boarded with Mr. Brown, who was once in the time to Geneva, accompanied by Mr. Brown, and in consequence of a severe thunder storm came upon us in a swamp, we got bewildered all night. I was also out 2 or 3 days exploring the land on the east side of the Canadarque Lake with John Ely and Doct. Eliott. The leisure time was spent in clearing up my town lot.

On the 26th news was brought Mr. Phelps that several tribes of Indians who were coming in to him for the purchase of their lands were encamped five miles out of town, and requested he would come and lead them by the hand and lead them in to the country accordingly a number of us accompanied Mr. Phelps, on horseback to where they were encamped. They saluted us with a discharge of their rifles. They were seated in a large circle on the ground, who when we arose, took us by the hand and led us into the circle where we sat down. Shortly after one of the chiefs, who we believe, arose and made a speech, which was in praise of Mr. Phelps, who at the conclusion gave them permission to march into Canadarque, where the chiefs and warriors and displayed sundry Indian military

after which they were treated with rum and provisions, and the day ended pleasantly.

From the 27th [July] to the 6th of August the treaty continued to be held with the Indians. During this time [there were] about 1700 Indians, of men, women and children, that were served with rations of bread and meat and occasionally rum, &c. While this treaty continued but little else was attended to. Although no serious accidents happened between the whites and Indians there were several narrow escapes in consequence of the Indians making too free use of spirits, and the misconduct of the white people, who were often the aggressors. The payment was made them in cash and merchandise. They came and went away hungry, notwithstanding upwards of 100 head of cattle were killed for them. Flour was not so plenty. It was reported (during the treaty and I think not unlikely) that the flour of one barrel made up into bread sold for 100 dollars worth in silver plates, of various kinds of Indian ornaments. Many horses died distempered during the treaty. The Indians fed on them freely, also the blood and entrails of all the beef slaughtered.

From the 11th [Aug.] to the 25th I spent on the Genesee river, surveying and exploring land. On the 29th, was taken with the ague and fever, and was so much indisposed was obliged to return to Canadarque. This season was uncommonly rainy. The Genesee river and all the smaller streams were frequently full banks, and being much exposed to wet wading through streams and swamps, it brought on the ague, which continued on me until the 10th of September when it left me for a few days. In this interval I cleared and sowed about three acres of wheat on my town lot, the first wheat that was ever sowed in this part of the country. In the course of the fall Nathaniel Gorham and sundry others sowed large fields of wheat.

On the 15th inst. my ague returned on me with but little interruption until the 3d of October, when despairing of getting rid of the ague I concluded to leave the country and take passage in a boat bound to Schenectady. Accordingly on the 4th of October I set out in a battoe in company with

Moses Atwater and sundry others. On the 11th we arrived at the Little Falls on the Mohawk river, and put up at a Mr. Herkemer's. On Monday the 12th I made an exchange of the wagon which I left in the care of Mr. Herkemer last June for a horse, and from thence journeyed on horseback. On the 14th I arrived at the town of Lansingburgh and put up with my friend Charles Selden, and by changing my diet and taking plentifully of the bark I got rid of the ague, but was taken with influenza, which continued with me very severely until the 22d, when feeling on the mending hand, set out for Connecticut. Traveled through Williams Town in Massachusetts, Pittsfield and from thence to Granville; called on a Mr. Ebenezer Curtis of whom I had purchased a lot of land containing 640 acres and received of him a deed—a tract of land which I sold afterwards to Messrs. Henry Channing and Richard McCurdy. From Granville rode to Suffield, settled accounts with Oliver Phelps and purchased of him; received a deed for lot of land, and from thence shaped my course for Litchfield, for the purpose of seeing and settling some business with Thomas Sheldon; put up with his brother Samuel Sheldon. On the 4th of November set out on my journey for Lyme, where I arrived the 6th inst., after being absent about 5 months; found my mother, brothers and sisters in health, who bid me a hearty welcome. Altho' I have experienced much hardship and sickness I considered the tour a very fortunate one, and laid the foundation of an increasing fortune. . . .

From the 6th of November 1789 to the 14th of April, 1790 I made it my home at Lyme with my mother and her family, occasionally riding into the adjoining towns on parties of pleasure, making some agreeable acquaintances. In the month of December rode to Albany on business for Thomas Sheldon; went and returned by way of Litchfield, where on my return spent several days attending at County Court during five months, viz., from November to April. I did not pursue any regular business, had not recovered of the autumnal fever, but had several returns of the ague and fever, and not in health to endure much active exercise. Made the necessary arrangements for my tour westward and

15th day of April set out on my journey again for Genesee on horseback. The second day on my journey was taken very ill with a return of the influenza. My road was through Hartford, Pittsfield in Massachusetts, and from thence to Albany and from thence to Schenectady, where I met with Nathaniel Sandburn and family, and between us purchased a battoe, on board of which he put his family and our effects of provisions, &c., and of a Saturday (1st May) we set off with our battoe from Schenectady, up the Mohawk river and through the chain of waters to the outlet of the Canadarque Lake, and after a passage 28 days of hard labor, we arrived safe at Phelps' Landing, so called, about seven miles from Canadarque. After my arrival at Canadarque, which was the 29th of May, and getting up my stores from the boat, which was done on the 30th, the 31st of May I began to plow and prepare ground for spring crops, viz., for oats, buckwheat and corn, all of which crops succeeded well. In addition to farming I occasionally attended to small jobs of surveying.

30th June. This day closes my 29th year, enjoying health, situate in a fertile new country and am anticipating many happy days and years may follow.

1st July. I have now entered upon my 30th year; and on 2d August following I set out in company with a Mr. Babcock, Phelps and others to make a division of Big Tree Town (so-called) between these gentlemen. Returned by way of Township No 11, and purchased a yoke of oxen of Joseph Magner [?], price 50 dollars, which enabled me to repare and put in crop about 12 acres of wheat. I returned back to Canadarque on the 8th, and on the 9th of August begun to harvest my wheat which I had sown on the front of my town lot in the fall of 1789, yielding rising of 20 bushels to the acre.

On the 10th, died suddenly, Cap. Walker, a young man much respected, the first white man that has died in this village since the first settlement.

In the course of the summer I secured a commission from his Excellency George Clinton Esq., appointing me Sheriff of Ontario County, and on the 3d day of September a Court

of Quarter Sessions and General Sessions of the Peace were held at the then dwelling house of Oliver Phelps, and since owned by Meris [?] Atwater, Oliver Phelps Esq. presided as judge and James Parker and Israel Capens [?] as assistant justices.

I continued at Canadarque until the 9th of December. My principal business during the summer and fall was farming. I resided in a small log house owned by Moses water and kept Bachelor's Hall. Thomas Lord, the son of John Lord, was hired with me from June until September. In the fall I erected me a small log house, which I occupied for a dwelling house the year following. On Tuesday, 9th December, set out for Connecticut in company with General Israel Chapin, Nathaniel Gorham and about 8 others. Put up at evening at Patterson's, Geneva, and on the 10th set out on our journey and crossed the Cayuga Lake with our horses on the ice, at great hazard of our drowning ourselves and horses, the ice being very thin and weak. At night encamped in the woods, and a heavy snow fell on us. The weather continued cold and the snow about 18 inches deep. I proceeded on my journey by easy stages, and on the 3d of January, 1791, I arrived at Lyme, where I was again cordially received by my mother, brethren and sisters, having been absent since the 15th of April last.

I continued at Lyme but a few weeks, viz, until the 21st of February following. During this interval, I made myself happy with my friends and acquaintances, and made some advances toward matrimony, to her, whom I married the winter following.

On Monday 21st February 1791 again took leave of my friends and set out [on] my journey for Canadarque. Hired Nathan Phelps for several months, who drove on for me his yoke of oxen and sled, with sundry stores &c. We had a prosperous journey until we arrived to the Cayuga Lake where the snow was all dissolved; was obliged to leave our sled and store our goods, and arrived at Canadarque on the 16th March. All the appearances of a forward Spring; birds were singing and the farmers were plowing for the Spring crops. . . . 5th of April I moved into my log house,

although small and not an entire shelter from the storm, I nevertheless felt happy with the idea of being in a house of my own, anticipating of seeing better days. The prospect of the country becoming populous is very flattering. Great number of families moved into the settlement during the winter and spring, principally from Massachusetts and Connecticut, who bring with them their steady habits. The people generally convened on the Sabbath for worship; sermons were read and psalms were sung.

My main business this season was farming, clearing up my land and extending my improvements as my abilities would admit. Among other improvements built me a framed barn, to secure my wheat and grass in. This season thus far has been favorable for bringing forward the Spring crops. . . .

In the course of this month, July 1791 a treaty was held with the Seneca Nation of Indians at New Town. Present on the part of the U. States, Timothy Pickering Esquire. This treaty was on account of sundry Indians which had been killed by white people on the waters of the Susquehannah and elsewhere, viz, Pine Creek. Oliver Phelps Esquire attended the treaty from this county, and sundry gentlemen from the southward who were at the treaty returned with him. Among others was Thomas Morris Esquire, who afterwards purchased and settled at Canadarque. A Major Thompson from Farmington died at the Genesee river, suddenly of a fever [taken] at Canadarque; a man much respected and whose death was much lamented.

Began to cut and harvest my wheat on the 19th of July; the last year began to harvest wheat 9th August—20 days difference. The ague and fever is very prevalent in many parts of the country this season. I continued in the country this season until the 14th of November, have been favored with health and successful in my farming pursuits. After closing up and securing my fall crop, on the 15th November, set out my journey once more for Connecticut, in company with Frederick Hosmer. I arrived at Lyme the 4th December, 1791; had the pleasure of finding my aged mother and friends all in health. . . . Having made up my mind to

live no longer a single life, by mutual consent, I was published to Elizabeth Marvin on Sunday, 25th December—Christmas day—and on Sunday evening 8th January, 1792, we were married by the Rev. David Higgins. A few of the family connections were present. . . .

After continuing a few days visiting among our friends I set out on a tour for New York, on horseback as far as New Haven, where I left my horse and took the stage. I arrived at New York on the 14th of January. While in the city I spent some time in the House of Assembly, where I fell in company with Col. Lenley, our first Member of Assembly from Ontario County, who had lately arrived and taken his seat in the House. I was also the bearer of a petition from the Masons of Ontario for obtaining a charter for a lodge from the Grand Lodge in this city, and was introduced to Chancellor Livingston for that purpose, who then resided [*?presided*] as Grand Master. The petition was granted. I left New York on the 19th January in a very severe snowstorm, arrived at Lyme on the 22d, where I continued until the 9th February. During this time I sold sundry lots of land to Reverend Henry Channing of New London for a small advance, which enabled me to purchase a team of oxen and span of horses and sleigh, for the purpose of moving Mrs. Colt and self and our household goods to Genesee. My ox team set out on the 10th.

On the 13th of February, 1792, took leave of our friends and set out [on] our journey in sleigh for Genesee, there having fallen a snow on the 10th which made it excellent traveling, which continued good sleighing the whole of our journey. We arrived in safety at Canadarque on Tuesday the 20th of February, in good health, no accident befalling us or our teams on the journey. We put [up] on the night of our arrival at Nathaniel Sanburn's, and on the 29th we moved in and took possession of our log house, apparently with as much satisfaction as if it had been a palace. My ox team arrived on the 3d of March, performed the journey in 22 days. The snow dissolved gradually with the rains and the sun, and the season opened for commencing farming about the 10th of April, the ground being settled and dry

for plowing and the sowing of spring grain, and sowed my oats on the 11th. Made husbandry my principal business, occasionally executing the duties of my office of sheriff, in serving writs, summoning jurors, etc.

[For the years 1792 to the close of 1794 Mr. Colt's journal relates chiefly to personal and domestic matters. One or two records have historic value: "On Sunday, 16th day of September 1792 the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered in this village by the Rev. Mr. Smith from Dyton, Mass.—for the first time in this part of the country. The members who partook of the sacrament were Israel Chapin Esquire and his wife, — Whitman, Gamaliel and Ephraim Wilder, — Warner and — Pitts, seven in all." Two children were born to the Colts, but neither lived. In January, 1793, Mr. Colt again visited Lyme, where illness detained him for some weeks, but before spring he was back at Canandaigua with a load of goods, which he retailed to his neighbors. His brothers Samuel and Elisha visited him and the former continued in the country.]

January 1794. Continued at Canadarque during the winter for the first time. Much talk of Indian war with the Six Nations, and the inhabitants of this new settlement are under some serious apprehensions of an invasion in the spring if measures are not taken by the General Government to quiet them. Early in the Spring news was brought to Israel Chapin Esquire, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, that Capt. Brant had assembled with his warriors at Buffalo Creek and was proceeding on to Presque Isle, State of Pennsylvania, to prevent the surveyors from surveying that part of the country called the Triangle. To prevent serious consequences Mr. Chapin repaired to Buffalo Creek, My brother Samuel Colt accompanied him as secretary and Horatio Jones as interpreter. The Indians were assembled. After some consultation part of the young men were dismissed and a few of the chiefs took passage by water, along with the Superintendent, secretary and interpreter, to Presque Isle, and from thence went on foot to Le Boeuf, where were stationed a small command of State troops, commanded by a Capt. Ebenezer Denny.

On the Indians making their business known, viz., to see the surveyors and to forbid them running lines, etc., they were informed they had shortly before left the country and had gone down the river. They agreed to return home upon assurances being given that the matter should be laid before the President of the U. S., which was done by the Superintendent. It was agreed to hold a treaty with them the ensuing fall. Timothy Pickering Esquire was appointed for that purpose and met them at Canadarque in the month of October, when all matters of difference were amicably settled to the full satisfaction of all parties. There was a large assembly of Indians and many white people collected on the occasion. Among others were the noted character Jemima Wilkinson,* alias the Universal Friend, together with a number of her followers from the Friend's settlement, whose object was to treat with the chiefs of the Mohawk Indians, to purchase a tract of land of them in Upper Canada, but did not succeed than I could hear of. At the close of this treaty all fears vanished, with respect to any invasion from the Six Nations of Indians.

[In April, 1794, Mr. Colt and his wife returned to Connecticut, traveling the whole distance on horseback. Mrs. Colt, who was in feeble health, did not return to Canandaigua until February, 1795. In the interim Mr. Colt made repeated journeys back and forth, busy with land speculation, the sale of lots, and the interests of his farm and newly-established store. The journal for this period is here omitted.]

Some time in August [1795] Augustus Porter and myself set out on a journey to Presque Isle for the purpose of purchasing land. Went on horseback to Niagara, where we left our horses and took passage with Capt. Wm. Lee in a small shallop to Presque Isle. On our arrival there we found a number of men encamped in that quarter. The U.

* For an account of Jemima Wilkinson's preaching to the Indians in 1791, and of her presence in Canandaigua in 1794, see Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., p. 494; also David Hudson's "History of Jemima Wilkinson, a Preacheress of the Eighteenth Century," etc., Geneva, N. Y., 1821. She and her followers made the first settlement in the old town of Jerusalem, Yates Co., N. Y.

S. troops were erecting a fort. Gen. William Irwin* and Andrew Ellicott, commissioners from the State, were laying out the town of Erie, and had in their service about 100 militia troops; and Thomas Rees Esquire was acting as an agent for the Pennsylvania Population Company in the survey and sale of their lands. We purchased and took two certificates of 400 acres each at 1 dollar per acre, payable in five annual instalments. We made but a short stay and returned the way we came. The season was uncommonly dry and warm, we suffered much with heat, droughth and musquitoes. . . .

I continued in trade until some time in December [1795], when concluding in my own mind to change my line of business I sold off all the goods remaining in my store to Thaddeus Chapin and others on a credit, attended to settle up accounts and close all mercantile transactions, in which I was pretty successful.

January, 1796, preparing my business in order to make a journey to New England. In the month of February set out for Connecticut in sleigh with my sister-in-law Phebe Marvin. We had good sleighing the whole of the distance. On my way called on Oliver Phelps, Suffield, to whom I sold some land, which enabled me to discharge some mercantile debts. Arrived at Lyme the latter part of this month [February]. After spending a few days visiting my friends I returned back to Hartford on business, and in the month of March set out on horseback for Philadelphia. Rode as far as New York, where I left my horse and took the stage to Philadelphia where I arrived the 13th March.

The object I had in view was, to get confirmed the lands I purchased of Thomas Rees, agent of the Pennsylvania Population Company at Presque Isle in August 1795, the principal proprietors of whom [were] residing in this city. I had it in contemplation also to purchase a body of land off the east end of the Triangle, so called, containing about 30,000 acres, and offered them 1 dollar per acre for the same, but they declined to sell in so large a body. While the proposition was under consideration of the managers of

* Gen. Wm. Irvine.

said company, viz., John Nicholson, Esquire, John Field, Theophilus Cazenove, Col. Aaron Burr, one of them, viz., Col. Burr, informed me they were in want of an agent to take in charge the sale of their land, that if I would undertake the superintendence of their lands they would engage me, and upon a short consultation on the subject I contracted with the managers for one year, from the 21st March, at a salary of 1500 dollars and all expenses paid by them for board, traveling expenses &c., and powers of attorney and letters were made out. Maps of the country were furnished and money advanced to purchase provisions, hiring of laborers, &c.; and in the month of April, set out for the Genesee country. At New York laid in stores of provisions, sundry kinds of goods, farming and cooking utensils, which are generally wanted in a new country; shipped them to Albany, thence across the portage in wagons, from thence they were taken in batteaux up the Mohawk river, through the lakes to Presque Isle, under the care and direction of Enoch Marvin. On their arrival at Oswego they were stopped by the British garrison stationed there. An empty boat however was permitted to pass and proceed on to Niagara and obtain permission of Governor Simco [Simcoe] to proceed with their loading. It was shortly after this they were informed of the treaty being ratified by Congress which was made by Mr. Jay with the British Government, a matter which had for some time agitated the subjects of the two governments.

I arrived myself at the town of Erie on the 22d of June [1796], and my boats with the provisions, &c. arrived about the 1st July following, and shortly after proceeded to business. I erected my tent or marquee near the old French garrison, and continued to reside [there] through the summer. There was a captain's command stationed at this village, in a garrison laid out and builded in the summer of 1795.

In the month of August rode down to Pittsburgh, attended a vendue for the sale of part of the Erie Reserve. Visited the agent who had the superintendence of a portion of the company's lands on the waters of Beaver. Country

new, but few inhabitants, roads bad and accommodations poor, encamped out, nights, tied my horse head and foot. The season very warm and dry, made the journey very fatiguing. I returned back to Erie in safety.

In the month of September went on horseback through the wilderness to Canadarque, principally alone. After making a short visit to my family I returned back to Presque Isle (town of Erie) where I continued to [attend to] the business of my agency until the 1st November. Met with considerable opposition during the season by adverse settlers. A company known by Denning McNair & Co. from the neighborhood of Pittsburgh. After arranging the affairs of the company for the winter, leaving the agency in the care of Elisha and Enoch Marvin, I set out again for Philadelphia on the 4th November, and after about two weeks of hard labor and running much danger of losing ourselves, we arrived with our boat in the mouth of the Genesee river, it being the last day of the Indian Summer, for at evening was a severe thunderstorm and the next day and evening a snow storm. Winter set in without interruption. I arrived at Canadarque about the 21st November, and had the pleasure of finding my family in good health. I continued at Canadarque until about the 20th December following, when I again took leave of my family and set out for Philadelphia by way of Albany and New York. Arrived at Philadelphia about the 1st January 1797. Continued in the city until the 5th of March following, and having settled with the managers for the last year's agency, agreed to continue with them for the current year. After receiving letters of instruction, and money to be laid out for the further prosecuting the settlement, I took my leave of them and set out again for Presque Isle, viz., on the 5th of March by way of New York, where I purchased provisions, goods, &c., and shipped them to Albany. Mrs. Colt having made a journey to see her parents in the course of the winter I went into Connecticut and accompanied her back to Canadarque. We left Lyme 28th March, and from Hartford Mrs. Colt went in stage to Albany and myself on horseback. On the 6th April we arrived at Albany, and my stores of provisions &c. ar-

rived from New York about the same time. While I was employed in transporting these to Schenectady Mrs. Colt made a visit to her friends at Lansingburgh. On her return to Albany, being exposed to the small-pox, she was inoculated, and took passage in stage to Whitesborough, put [up] at the family of Doct. Elizen Mosley, where she continued until I arrived, which was the 2d May, when I had the pleasure of finding her on the mending hand, having had the disorder very favorably.

About this time my brother Jabez Colt came through from Canadarque with horses for us to ride from this to Canadarque, and my brother waited at White's-town and Fort Stanwix until my boats arrived that were left in the care of Eliphalet Beebe, and proceeded with them to Niagara. I arrived at Canadarque the 8th May, Mrs. Colt having received no material injury from the journey. I continued at Canadarque until the 22d inst, purchasing provisions and cattle, and employing labor to take to Presque Isle.

Again took leave of my family and set out for Erie by way of Upper Canada. Found my boats had arrived at Queenstown; made the necessary arrangement for their carriage around the falls. I proceeded westward and arrived at the 16-mile Creek on Lake Erie the 31st May. . . .

[An account of his sister's sickness and death is omitted.]

On the 1st June, 1797, I rode out to where Mr. Elisha Marvin was stationed, and who had charge of the men employed under my agency, situate 9 miles south of the 16-Mile Creek, now known by Greenfield or Colt's Station.* I

* The first celebration of Independence Day in the Triangle appears to have been held at Colt's Station, now Greenfield, in 1797. Laura G. Sanford, in her "History of Erie County, Pennsylvania," gives the following as from the Colt MS., though it does not appear in the Journal here printed: "Tuesday being the twenty-second anniversary of the Independence of America, at the expense of the Pennsylvania Population Company we gave an entertainment to about seventy-five people, settlers of the said company. A bower was erected under two large maple trees, and when the hearts of the people were cheered with good farc, sundry toasts were drunk suitable to the occasion. After I had withdrawn, one James Crawford offered the following: 'May Judah Colt, agent of the Population Company, drive the intruders before him as Samson did the Philistines! Three cheers!' and the woods rang with a roar of laughter for some time." The allusion of course was to the dispossession of settlers deemed irregular by the Population Company.

made this place my principal stand during this season, or until the 16th of November following. During this time I was several times at Meadville, and superintending the lands of the Company situated on the waters of Beaver or Shenango, where I commenced an establishment on them on the 30th of July, situate about 15 miles west of Meadville, and left my brother Jabez Colt to superintend that settlement.

This was a season of much business, and owing to the opposition I met with from adverse settlers, it caused me much trouble and perplexity, how to keep from 40 to 80 and 100 men in the service of the Company, to defend the settlers and the property I had the charge [of]. It was more than once mobs of men from 20 to 30 would assemble for the purpose of destroying houses and for other mischief, sundry of whom I had indicted and bills were found against them by the grand jury of the then Allegany County, the court being held at the borough of Pittsburgh, which occasioned me to visit Pittsburgh in the month of September with a number of witnesses which I took to substantiate the riot, &c. Bills were found against a number of them.

On my return to Lake Erie I loaded a boat with sundry stores, gave it in charge of one William Edwards, to take down to the 16 Mile Creek. They were unfortunately overtaken by a thunder-gust, drove down the lake near to the Chatockway [Chautauqua] Creek, when the boat upset and Edwards, Tinker and Pierce were drowned. One of the men by the name of Hawley was saved, who gave an account of the disaster. Two of the bodies were found on the 15th [October], viz, Tinker and Price,* were brought up to the 16-Mile Creek where they [were] interred.

In the course of this season had commenced the building of a small vessel of about 35 tons at the mouth of the 4-Mile Creek.

I continued in the Triangle (so called) until some time in October, when I again visited the settlement under the agency of my brother Jabez Colt, and after making the necessary arrangements with him for the winter I returned back to Greenfield Station, where I made all convenient ar-

* Written both "Price" and "Pierce" in the original.

rangement possible for the continuance of the settlement through the winter. Engaged Mr. Elisha Marvin to take charge of the men employed through the winter in the Company's service, and his brother Enoch Marvin took charge of sundry witnesses in order to attend court at Pittsburgh respecting the farmer riots, of the Loureys and others which took place in the months of June and July last. Matters being thus arranged I set out on the 16th inst (November) for Philadelphia by way of Canadarqua, on horseback. Took with me sundry young men. The snow was deep, and had to camp out a number of nights in going through the wilderness [between] this and the Genesee River. I arrived at Canadarqua on the 25th of same month, where I had the satisfaction of finding Mrs. Colt in good health after an absence of six months from my family.

I continued at Canadarqua with my family until the 9th January 1798, busily employed in regulating my agency accounts of the transactions of my agency during the season past; when I again took leave of my family and set out for Philadelphia. Took passage in sleigh to Albany with Seymour Boughton. On my way down I visited my uncle Peter Colt and family, who were then resident near Fort Stanwix. From Albany took stage to New York and Philadelphia, and arrived at [that] city on the 24th January. I continued in the city until the 16th of April, closed up my accounts of my agency to the satisfaction of my employers and engaged to continue in their service another year at a salary of 2500 dollars per year, to be found with a clerk, and all reasonable traveling expenses. Took leave of my employers on the 22d April, accompanied by my clerk, Benjamin Saxton, in stage to New York. On my arrival, purchased sundry stores and shipped them for Albany under the care of B. Saxton and Eliphalet Beebe. Proceeded on to Albany in stage and arrived at Albany the 29th April, where I continued until the arrival of my stores and until I had them taken across the portage to Schenectady. After shipping them on board of small craft up the Mohawk, still in the care of Saxton and Beebe, I took stage for White's

Town, and from thence on horseback in company with Capt. Reuben Thayer and a Major Conly to Canadarqua.

I arrived at Canadarqua on the 10th May; had the pleasure of finding Mrs. Colt in good health; where I continued until the 21st May. Mrs. Colt having agreed to accompany me to Presque Isle we made our arrangements accordingly, leased our house and furniture, farm, &c. to my brother Joseph who was married on the 13th to a Miss Betsy Cell; and on Monday 21st May we set out on horseback and proceeded on by easy stages by way of Queenstown, Upper Canada, and from thence to Fort Erie, viewing the Falls of Niagara on our route. From Fort Erie we sent our horses through by land, and we took passage in a small vessel, sloop Weazle, Dennan [?] master, for Presque Isle, where we arrived in safety the 31st May.

On the 2d June we set out for Greenfield Station, by water to 16 Mile Creek, where we were met with our horses that had been taken through the wilderness by Olney F. Rice [?]. We arrived at our station on Sunday morning of the 3d of June, having encamped over night in a small cabin occupied by Aaron Eastman and family. We were very cheerfully received by Mr. Elisha Marvin, who made us welcome with such fare as could be had.

I continued to reside at Greenfield with my family until the 7th of November following—was busily employed during the Summer months. The vessel begun by Elephalet Beebe the summer of 1797 was completed this year in season to make a trip to Fort Erie. She was named the Sloop Wasington [? Washington].

An accommodation took place between the company of Watt^d Scott [?] and the company I act as agent for, respecting land claims. Took a journey to Pittsburgh in the month of September; visited the settlement under the care of Jabez Colt and also of Col. Dunning [illegible] on the waters of Coniatte [? Conneaut] in the village of Lexington. On the 10th October, accompanied about 65 of the company's settlers from this station (Greenfield) to the town of Erie, to attend an election, all of whom were in favor of a Federal Representative.

On the 7th November I set out with Mrs. Colt on horseback for Pittsburgh; snow about 12 inches deep, which had been on the ground since the 30th of October, and very cold. Our baggage was taken down French Creek by water; we got to Meadville on the 9th and to Pittsburgh on the 18th of November. Being under the necessity of returning back to Meadville, left Mrs. Colt in the family of Thomas Collins Esquire. I returned back to where my brother Jabez Colt was stationed and continued in that quarter, viz., on the waters of Shenango, arranging the business of my agency until the 4th of January 1799. From the 2d December until the 4th inst. continued snowing with but little interruption. I returned back to Meadville in company with my brother, and on the 6th inst. he set out with me for Pittsburgh, and arrived there the 9th inst., weather severe cold. Found Mrs. Colt indisposed from a fall from a sleigh some few days before. Shortly after our arrival at this place the weather became very warm, snow dissolved, a great rise of water, frost out of the ground and the farmers began their plowing.

On the 19th inst. I set out with Mrs. Colt for Philadelphia on horseback in company with Thomas Collins and lady and John Barron Esquire. On our arrival at Shippensburg we made a halt a few days until our baggage which was in the care of Isaac Austin came up with us. We arrived at Philadelphia on the 2d of February and took lodging at Solomon March's [?], where we continued until the 22d May following. Our journey over the mountains at this inclement season was very fatiguing and hazardous, but we were preserved from accident, a cause of much thankfulness.

The winter was spent very pleasantly. A number of Members of Congress boarded in the same house with us, among others were Messrs. Langdon, Gallatin, Havens, Nicholas, Harrison and others. In the course of the winter attended to the settlement of my accounts with the company, and at my leisure moments attended to the debates in Congress.

In the course of the winter there was an insurrection in the counties of Berks and Northampton, which was soon brought to a close by spirited measures being taken by the

Federal Administration, who took the ringleaders and dispersed the mob. A man by the name of Fries [?] was tried for high treason, was finally convicted, but after was pardoned under the administration of John Adams.

On the 25th May, having received my powers of Attorney and letters of instruction from the Pennsylvania Population Company, I set out on horseback with Mrs. Colt for Presque Isle by way of Pittsburgh. We arrived at Greenfield Station the 17th June; the weather extremely warm, roads bad, which made it extremely fatiguing to Mrs. Colt, which was the occasion of a severe spell of sickness, and her life was for some time despaired of. Was attended by Dr. Thomas R. Kennedy, who resided at Meadville, a very skillful physician. Mrs. Colt continued in a very feeble state until the succeeding Spring. I continued to prosecute the business of my agency as usual.

At the October election James Ross Esquire and Thomas McKean were the two candidates who ran for Governor. McKean succeeded. In the course of the fall of the year the P. P. Co. sent out Emin Williams to assist in correcting the surveys of their lands, who was the cause afterwards of much difficulty and misunderstandings between me and my principals. In the month of November I went on business to Pittsburgh to settle with the commissioners of Allegheny County for the arrearages of taxes due on the company's land; made a successful settlement with them.

I continued at Greenfield with my family until the 22d February [1800], when I again took leave of them and set out again for Philadelphia; left Mrs. Colt in a very infirm state of health. On my arrival at the town of Erie the citizens were preparing to partake of a dinner in honor of the birthday of Gen. Geo. Washington. From the town of Erie I proceeded on my journey with Enoch Marvin, who accompanied me to Pittsburgh. I arrived at Philadelphia about the 1st March, and took lodgings at John Tomlinson's, where I remained until the 1st May, 1801, being 13 months and some days over. During the greater part of this time I was laboring to effect an amicable settlement with the Company I had been doing business for. A misunderstanding

had arisen in the minds of the managers against me by the instigation of Emin Williams, who had laid his plans to bring me into difficulty and disrepute with the company. He however failed in his designs. The result of the whole business was thereafter a minute investigation of my agency. My account was passed, my salary paid me during my continuance in the city, also my expenses for board, clerk hire, and requested still to continue in their employ. It was however an unpleasant controversy, and the circumstance of being so long detained from my family was a matter which caused me much anxiety and on the whole the most unpleasant part of my life since arriving to state of manhood. . . .

In consequence of my long absence from the country the settlement was considerably impeded, and the peace and harmony of the County greatly disturbed, by the adversaries of the company I had the agency of, which made the business of my agency very unpleasant.

In the course of the Summer and Fall we were visited by a number of clergymen who were sent out by the Ohio & Redstone Presbytery, who preached in a number of places and took much pains to collect and establish churches and to convene the scattering inhabitants for religious societies. Among others who came out among us was the Reverend — McCurdy,* who appeared a very zealous man, and well calculated to be useful as a traveling minister. On the Sabbath of the 27th of September [1801] was appointed and agreed upon to have the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered in the Township of Greenfield, on a plantation then occupied by William Dundass [?]. When the day arrived, a great number of people assembled. [Mr. Colt here records at length how he was brought under religious conviction and joined the church, with his wife. The ministers present on this occasion were the Rev. Messrs. "McCurdy, —

* The Rev. Elisha McCurdy, a native of Carlisle, Pa., in 1799 licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Ohio, in Washington Co., Pa. He was active in the great revival in Western Pennsylvania, 1801-'02, in connection with which awakening he organized the church of Lower Greenfield, now Northeast, Pa. Mr. McCurdy died at Allegheny, Pa., July 22, 1845. For an account of his life, see Sprague's "Annals of the American Pulpit"; also Sanford's "History of Erie County, Pennsylvania."

Satterfield, Tate and Boid, from the Ohio & Redstone Presbytery."]

October, 1801. In the course of this month took a tour through the settlement in company with Elisha Marvin and Timothy Tuttle Esquire, in order to learn the state of the settlement. Some progress was made in organizing the militia in Greenfield. Elisha Marvin was chosen their captain, had about 80 persons enrolled in his company. The garrison at Presque Isle was commanded by Capt. Cornelius Lyman, who treated strangers and the inhabitants with much civility and hospitality.

On the 26th October I set out on a journey to Geneseo, State of New York. Enoch Marvin accompanied me. At Batavia, on the waters of Tonewanta, we called on Joseph Ellicott, who was an acting agent for the Holland Land Company. Ellicott was a high-toned Democrat, and not friendly disposed towards the emigrants from the eastward, from whence his principal settlers came from. I made but a short stay in the Genesee country. Among other business which I attended to was to pay off a debt for a tract of land, bought of Charles Williamson, situated on Genesee River, it being a balance of \$1390.50. On my return passed over into Upper Canada and sold to Clark & Street a right to Sloop Washington, which was built near Presque Isle at the mouth of 4-Mile Creek in the Summer of 1798. The winter set in and continued severe; until the close of this year busily occupied in attending to the business of my agency. . . .

November, 1802. . . . In the course of this year there was considerable progress made, organizing the county, in military, civil and religious [matters]. The Reverend Mr. Robert Patterson commenced his labors as a minister. . . .

March 3, 1803, set out on a journey to Canadarqua in company with Enoch Marvin in order to attend to collecting moneys due me in that quarter for rent and to dispose of them again for the current year. The weather was very severe and we traveled on the ice from the mouth of Chatackway Creek to Buffalo. I continued in the Genesee country but a few days, for while there, there was an express sent to me from Greenfield, having in charge a packet from James

Gibson Esquire, requesting my attendance at Philadelphia, and to be there in time to attend as a witness in sundry causes which [were] pending in the Federal Court. . . .

[The journal for 1803-1808 relates chiefly to Mr. Colt's business as land agent, and to family matters. In June, 1803, he assisted the deputy marshal in ejecting intruders on the company's lands, "some of whom were obstinate and gave us much trouble." Sept. 1, 1803, "the Rev. Robert Patterson was ordained to the pastoral charge of Upper and Lower Greenfield congregation." In the same month Mr. Colt bought four lots in Erie, "on which was a small house, of James Wilson, for the sum of 490 dollars." In 1804 he cleared the land and made some improvements, and on Nov. 21st moved to Erie to reside. On June 20, 1806, "the shareholders of the Erie & Waterford Turnpike Company assembled at Waterford and elected their officers. Thomas Toulser [?] was chosen president, James Herron and others chosen managers, and myself their treasurer." Under date of October, 1806, he wrote: "On the 15th of this month the Circuit Court of this State commenced its sessions in this county for the first time; Jasper Yates Esquire presided." On Dec. 31, 1806, he makes this entry: "There has been much said for these two months past respecting preparations that have been making at the instance of Col. Aaron Burr and others on the waters of the Ohio, and of boats, ark-men and provisions which were collected at the mouth of Big Beaver, and Blennerhasset Island near Marietta and descended the Ohio. It was a matter which excited the attention of the Government of the U. S." March 2d, 1807, "the stockholders of the Erie & Waterford Turnpike met at Waterford to elect their officers. . . . In addition to my agency, had charge of the moneys which were collected on the shares of the Erie & Waterford Turnpike Road, now making between Erie and Waterford, which when completed will be of great advantage to the inhabitants of this country." The journal closes with an entry on Jan. 1, 1808, but contains nothing further of historical value.]

NOTE.—The strife between the Population Land Company, rival interests and squatters, in the Pennsylvania Triangle, makes a lively chapter in the history of that part of the State. Mr. Colt, as the preceding journal indicates,

bore an important part in it, but did not undertake to set forth the causes of the trouble. These will be found more or less fully given, in numerous publications readily accessible to the student of the subject, and need not be entered upon here. Place may be given, however, to the following contemporary account, from the "Travels" of Christian Schultz, who was at Presqu' Isle in August, 1807, when Mr. Colt was actively promoting the interests of his company: "A certain company, known by the name of the 'Population Land Company,' have purchased a considerable part of this [the Triangle] tract, upon condition of making certain settlements within a limited time. This has not been fulfilled on their part, on account, as they allege, of 'the United States being involved in a war with the neighboring Indians, which prevented the emigration of settlers.' In consequence of which a very considerable number of settlers had taken possession of several small tracts of their land, as wild lands of the State, and settled them under the conditions specified by a certain act of the Legislature, made 'for the encouragement of settlers settling upon the western lands belonging to the State.' Many of these poor people, after several years struggling with the difficulties of a frontier settlement, had just begun to reap the fruits of their well-earned labors, when they found themselves involved in a lawsuit with the Population Company, who, I am informed, have recovered the claims upon the ground before mentioned. None of the executions have as yet been carried into effect; and, if I may judge from the spirit and determination of the unfortunate sufferers with whom I have conversed, they are determined to defend what they consider as their lawful acquisitions with the last drop of their blood. The company are certainly justifiable in establishing their just claims, yet, considering all circumstances, it would be better to effect some kind of a compromise with the unfortunate settlers, rather than drive them to acts of desperation. This question, like many others of a local nature, has at length become blended with the divided politics of the State, and bids fair to give rise to a little insurrection. At least it is my humble opinion, that the executions cannot be carried into effect without the shedding of blood."



NOTES OF JOSEPH LANDON

A SURVEYOR WHO REACHED BUFFALO CREEK IN 1796,
AND SETTLED HERE IN 1806.*

In 1796 I was one of the party of surveyors that came on to survey what was then call'd New Connecticut in Ohio. In June we came into the Buffalo Creek with our boats and picked our camp on the bank of the creek just below the mouth of the Little Buffalo. We remained here some 10 or 12 days. At that time there was old Mr. Medaw [Mid-daugh] with his son-in-law Mr. Lane and his family; they lived in a log house a little north of Exchange Street, near the tannery. A Mr. Skinner kept a little log tavern on the brow of the hill near where the old stone house stood. A man by the name of Winnie [Winne] and old black Joe kept a little whisky shop on the margin of the Little Buffalo Creek in the rear of the Mansion House. These were all the inhabitants Buffalo contained at that time. It was a wilderness.

In 1806 I moved with my family to Buffalo, and purchased the Mansion House property. A man by the name of John Crow kept the tavern there. Capt. Samuel Pratt's house was on the corner of Main and Exchange Streets. He was a merchant and his store was on Exchange Street near, adjoining his house. Mr. Louis LeCouteulx lived opposite;

* From the original manuscript, written for the Buffalo Historical Society about 1863.

he kept an apothecary shop all in the same house. Sylvanus Mabee was a merchant; he had his store in Exchange Street. His dwelling was on the corner of Main and West Seneca streets. Jack Johnson was a clerk for Mr. Mabee, and lived on the corner of Exchange and Washington. His father, Capt. Johnson, lived with him. A man by the name of Palmer lived in Washington Street near Mr. Johnson.

John Despar [Despard] a baker lived on the corner of Caryl [Carroll] and Washington streets. David Reese, a blacksmith, lived on the corner of Washington and Seneca streets. His shop was on the corner where the old post-office now stands.* Judge Tupper was the clerk for the contractors, he lived on the corner of Main and Seneca streets. Zenas Barker kept a tavern on the corner of Main and the Terrace. Caleb Gillet kept a small store adjoining Mr. Barker's. Capt. Grant kept a store on Main Street; his house was on the corner of Main and West Seneca streets, where William Williams' drug store is. Dr. Cyrenius Chapin lived on the corner of Main and Swan streets, where S. F. Pratt's hardware store now stands. E. Walden had his law-office on Main between Exchange and Seneca; a man by the name of Phillips, a blacksmith, lived near Mr. Walden's on Main Street between Seneca and Exchange. Joe Wells and a man by the name of White, common laborers, lived in a log house at the foot of the hill near Mr. Goodrich's.

The first schoolmaster's name was Hiram Hanchett; he taught school one or two seasons; the school was kept in the Medaw [Middaugh] house near the cherry orchard. The first minister's name was Holmes;† he was sent by the Board of Missions to preach to the Indians; he had leave from the Board of Missions to come to Buffalo; the inhabitants had a meeting to make arrangements for paying this missionary and they could not agree; they finally proposed to take a list of those that would pay; they made an estimate what the expense would be for each Sunday, each one to take his money rolled up in a bit of paper with his name on the

* Northwest corner, Seneca and Washington streets.

† The allusion is to the Rev. Elkanah Holmes. See Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Vol. VI., pp. 187-204.

paper every Sunday, and so took up a collection in that way, and strangers that would attend when the plate was handed about would put in their mite; by doing so they collected the salary some time before the six months expired for which he was to stay.

Buffalo belonged to Genesee County at that time. The people of Buffalo obtained their provisions mostly from Ontario County. There were two taverns and four stores, one apothecary shop and one doctor. Erastus Granger was Collector and Postmaster. The mail was brought through once a week on horseback from Canandaigua. Zenas Barker kept the ferry across the Big Buffalo Creek; the landing was near the mouth of the little creek. The road to Black Rock was on the margin of the Niagara river.

JOSEPH LANDON.

Lake Erie

Sketch of Port Erie &
Anchoring ground, with
soundings on a scale of 1 mile to
1/2 inch



(What is called the anchoring ground
is a flat sand having means or
creeks from 2 or 3 to 6 miles wide
in which the sill of the harbor
enters. If the wind be deep the
side of the harbor finds in
night, no quantity boats.

Reduced fac-simile of sketch accompanying the following "Journal of a Survey," etc. The words "Lake Erie" should of course be at the bottom or lake side of the sketch. The soundings are in fathoms. See page 303.

Probably by Henry Ford, commander
of a British vessel, on Lake Erie at this
time. He was assisted by Patrick
McNiff, surveyor

JOURNAL OF A SURVEY OF THE SOUTH SHORE OF LAKE ERIE

MADE IN 1789

NOTE—In the summer of 1889 the ancient manuscript from which the following journal is printed was brought to light in the State Library at Albany. It is not known how it came there, or who wrote it. A small portion of it was copied and printed in the *Buffalo Express*, March 30, 1890. The journal is now published, it is believed for the first time, in full, with reproductions of the sketches which form a part of the original. Several of the entries are signed with a monogram which may be "T. P.," "F. P." or "J. P." or other combination of those letters. The editor of this volume has been unable to refer the journal to any known surveyor or expedition of that period. The start from Fort Erie, and the allusions to "Americans," make it probable that the survey was made by British engineers. The original document is entitled "The Journal of a Voyage Round the South Side of Lake Erie."

Sunday, June 28, 1789.—Winds w. s. w. Set off with two boats, to begin the survey opposite Fort Erie. Sounded a reef of rocks, at this time entirely under water, having 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 10 feet of water now on them. In 1785 one-third of the above shoal was entirely out of water. The shoal extends from n. e. to s. w., the upper end of the shoal bearing from the Fort e. s. e. and w. n. w., the lower end bearing w. $\frac{1}{2}$ n. and e. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. The breadth of the shoal is from 25 to 30 feet, the length [*blank in original*]. The distance of the n. e. end of the shoal from the south side is $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, the s. w. end one mile. Found Fort Erie by observation, in latitude 42.58 n. Surveyed and sounded up to Buffaloe Creek.

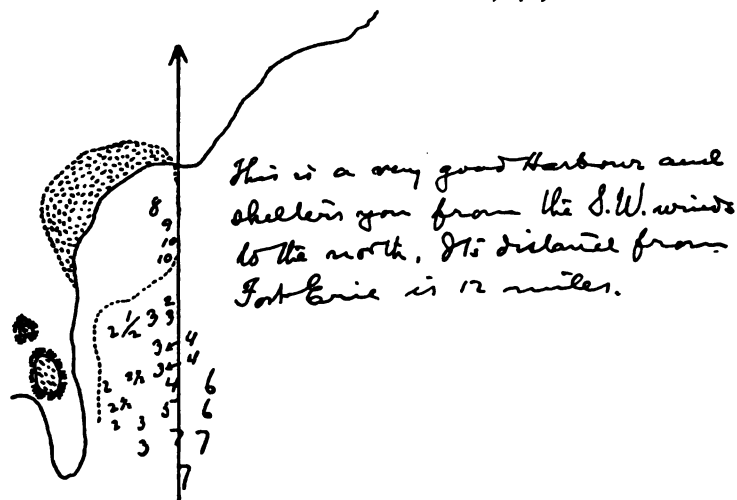
Monday, June 29.—Winds w. s. w. Finding the sea too high, put into Buffaloe Creek, and secured the batteaux.

From Buffaloe Creek, Fort Erie bore n. w. by w. $\frac{3}{4}$ w., distant 3 miles. Continued the survey about $2\frac{1}{4}$ miles up the beach, until the sea prevented us, by breaking over the beach. Sounded the bar of this creek and found 4 feet of water on it. Formerly, in 1785, part of this bar was entirely dry, and on the rest scarcely water enough to float a batteau. After you are in the creek the soundings are from 2 to 3 fathoms. The land on each side remarkably good and fit for culture. The Indian chief who is with the party says it continues so for many miles up.

Tuesday, June 30.—Winds w. by s. A sea from the westward; could not get on with the boats. Continued the survey along the shore. At 2 p. m. the wind and sea fell. Set off with the boats and sounded along shore. Found in general, 2 and 3 fathoms of water at the distance of 200 yards from the shore; clay bottom. A vessel, with good cables and anchors, may ride out any gale of wind on this lake on this part of the south shore. Got with the boats 7 miles above Buffaloe Creek. Found the land low and swampy near the lake; but apparently very high back to the eastward. Hauled up the boats and secured them. Took the magnetic variation and found it 4 deg. 6 min. westerly from the true meridian, 7 miles distance from Buffaloe Creek.

Wednesday, July 1.—Winds s. w. A fresh breeze, continued the survey along a rocky shore. Sounded at the distance of 300 yards from the shore. Found good anchoring ground and $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 fathoms water. The land back from the edge of the lake remarkably good. The banks on the lake high. Runs s. w. by w. for 7 miles to Catfish Creek, and from Catfish Creek $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles to a sandy point, by the log, w. s. w. course. This point will shelter boats from a w. s. w. wind. The sea from the westward was so high we could not proceed with the boats, which were hauled up and secured. Continued to chain up along the beach. Measured by log 12 miles this day.

Thursday, July 2.—Winds w. s. w. A hard gale and heavy sea. Was obliged to lay by with the boats. This evening found the variation 4 deg. 6 min. westerly.



SKETCH OF POINT EBENO OR ABINEAU, ON THE NORTH SIDE OF LAKE ERIE.

The above sketch, and title as here printed, appear on an early page of this anonymous journal, the original drawing being here reduced about one-half. The origin and meaning of the name which is now written "Point Abino," have not been ascertained by the present editor. Galinée's narrative of his exploration of the north shore of Lake Erie, 1669-70, does not allude to this point, nor does his crude map show it. The editor finds no reference to Point Abino in all the mass of the Jesuit Relations. When, in later years, the point appears in records and on maps, it has many spellings. Mr. O. H. Marshall found a map in Paris, date of 1749, on which it is marked as "Pointe de Bino." A map of 1775 has the same spelling (Marshall). A map of 1768, found in Paris by Mr. Marshall, has "Abineau." Margry ("Mémoires Inédites") has "Pointe A. Binot." The journal here printed has it "Ebene or Abineau." The latter form was the usual spelling for many years. Morse's Gazetteer, 2d ed., 1798, has: "Abineau Port [!] n. side of Lake Erie, about 13 miles w. s. w. from Fort Erie." Other early gazetteers repeat this, but Morse's for 1823 has "Long Point or Abineau," running the two points into one. Christian Schultz's "Travels," 1807, speaks of "Cape Aleneau," perhaps a typographic error. Crèvecoeur ("Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie," etc., 1801) writes it "Abineau"; Heriot, deputy postmaster of British North America, refers to it about 1800 as "Pointe à Beneaut," and again as "Abino." Joseph Brant, in a letter to British authorities, July 19, 1794, spells it "Appineau." One naturally looks to the early forms for a hint as to its origin; but no "Bino," "Binot" or "Beneaut" is known in the early history of Canada, either missionary, soldier or pioneer, whose name is likely to have been given to this point. There was a Binot at Detroit in the old French days; a man of no historical importance. Unlike many names of places in this region, it is not traceable to Indian origin. One is left still in the dark if its origin be sought along other lines. Wild grapes abounded on the north side of Lake Erie; many of the Frenchmen who came there were no doubt familiar with the *pineau*, a black grape of Burgundy—could they have seen a new Burgundy in this sandy point? If philology is to help us out, there is a possible source in

Friday, July 3.—Winds easterly and moderate. Set off with the boats along a rocky shore. Found the soundings good until we came to the points of land, after which we found the waters shoal at the distance of 100 or 200 yards. Stony bottom. The lands back exceeding good; but the shore so bad that for 2 or 3 miles on a stretch no such thing as saving a boat or the people, in case of accidents. This forenoon past Catagarus [!] Creek up which there is an Indian village. Went 16 miles by the log. Could not chain along shore. The bank being so rocky, and without a beach, and the woods near the lake so thick, that there was no chaining on the bank. Courses steered along shore: s. by w. $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, s. w. by s. $\frac{1}{2}$ m., s. w. by s. 1, w. s. w. 2, s. w. by w. $\frac{1}{2}$; total, 11 miles; s. s. w. $\frac{3}{4}$ m., s. w. $\frac{1}{2}$, s. $\frac{1}{4}$, s. s. w. 1, w. by s. 2; 16 miles this day by the log.

Saturday, July 4.—Winds s. s. w. Continued the survey along shore in the boats; the land so high and rocky, no such thing as chaining it, having no beach to walk on and the top of the bank being too thick of woods and brush for that purpose. Sounded along shore; found a general flat shoal all the way for 13 miles. At the distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile found 2 and 3 fathoms water, and good holding ground; but within that distance, 8, 6, 5, 4 feet water, shore to the bank; the shoal rocky; a rocky bottom. Measured by log $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles course, as follows: sw. by w, 2 miles, sw. 3 m., sw. $\frac{1}{2}$ w. $8\frac{1}{4}$, total $13\frac{1}{4}$ miles. The coast passed this day, very bad and dangerous for boats; the land very rich; the timber in general hemlock, white oak and chestnut. Up a small creek; here observed the sun setting; found the variation to be 4 deg. 4 min. westerly.

Sunday, July 5.—Winds s. w. A heavy gale. Could not move the boats this day.

Monday, July 6.—Winds n. w. Light breeze. At 4 A. M. set off with the boats along a steep rocky shore. Sound-

epineux (thorny). Or again, a *binot* is an old-fashioned plow; and the related verb, *biner*, literally, to dress (as of vines, etc.) a second time, has come to mean, to say mass twice in a day—a thing that may well have happened to some beset voyager on this coast. But all this is not history. Perhaps some reader can brush these speculations aside and give us the derivation and meaning of "Point Abino"?

ings at 100 yards from the shore 2 and 3 fathoms water and a soft bottom, but within that distance . . . 7, 8, 5, 6, 3 feet water and a hard bottom. Could not measure along shore, having no beach or road to walk on; therefore measured by log; distance, $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

At 4 P. M. arrived at Presque Isle. Found a party of Americans and Indians with flour; they were bound to Niagara. Latter part of the day the wind hauled to w. s. w.; $68\frac{3}{4}$ miles from Buffaloe Creek to Presque Isle, but appears to be that distance (say 60 miles) measured in a straight line from Lake Erie.

Thursday, July 7.—Winds w. s. w. at 6 A. M. Continued the survey. Sounded the harbor (of Presque Isle) and found the channel for vessels running along the high bank. Going into the harbor (keeping the bank on your left hand) on your right hand lays a shoal, formerly, in 1785, an island, now sunk 2 or 3 feet under water. When in the harbor you have three fathoms. All to the right hand is shoal bearing n. w., going into the harbor. This harbor is sheltered from all winds and sea. From the s. e. to the n. w. lay a bar across the harbor with 5, 7, 9, 8, 11 feet water. Within this bar are 4, 5 and 3 fathoms; the bottom in general soft. On your left hand, going up the basin, lay the old fort and two creeks with water sufficient to turn a mill. The land very good. The distance across the basin from the old fort is $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile. This place lies in latitude 41 deg. 39 min. n. by observation. [By Adlum's & Wallis' map the old fort at Presque Isle appears to be in latitude 42 deg. 7 min., and I believe it is laid down from Mr. Ellicott's accurate observations.]

Wednesday, July 8.—Winds s. w. People employed in surveying the ground in and about the old fort of Presque Isle. Up the creek next the fort is exceeding good land; the woods in general, oak and chestnut; the oak is fit for ship building; the situation of the fort very pleasant.

There is an American taking up land about 40 miles eastward of the fort, and making mills. The extent of the outlines of the fort is 2,640 feet; a rising ground. From this fort to Fort Pitt is about 5-days' march. Finished the sur-

A sketch of Detroit Lake Harbour
with the soundings. N.B. Keep the
south shore close on board in going in.
Variation of the needle at this place
 $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees westerly.



[Reduced about one-half.]

vey of the harbor and the fort. This is a most excellent place ~~for~~ ^{place} for ship building and a settlement. It is 69 miles from Fort ~~Fort~~ ^{Fort} Erie. This evening there arrived a boat from Detroit ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ search of flour.

Thursday, July 9.—Winds w. s. w. Set off with the ~~the~~ ^{the} boats and surveyed 4 miles, when the wind and sea rose ~~so~~ ^{so} as to oblige us to secure the boats. The variation at th ~~is~~ ^{is} place 2 deg. 48 min. westerly.

Friday, July 10.—Winds n. n. e. Fresh breeze. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats. The Corporal and people in the large boat not managing her properly, laid her in the trough of the sea; and she filled with water before they got out of the surf. Was obliged to haul up the boats and dry the provisions—biscuit and flour much damaged.

Saturday, July 11.—Winds variable and light. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats and continued the survey. Sounded along shore and found good holding ground at the distance of 200 yards, 2 and 3 fathoms water. Found little and no beach. Chained along shore for miles, then was obliged to get into the boat and measure by log. At the distance of $21\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Presque Isle up the lake found Pennsylvania line to the edge of the lake, running north and south. This line was finished in 1786. The bank in general high and clay. Exceeding rich ground all along this shore. Measured by log $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles this day. Course along shore w. s. w. Entirely a straight shore. Secured the boats in a small river, which is called Coneaut by the Indians. A few Indian houses a few miles up. [$21\frac{1}{2}$ miles the total distance from Presque Isle.]

Sunday, July 12.—Winds w. s. w. Hard gale, could not go on the lake with the boats. At 9 A. M. went up the river Coneaut; found the land on the left going up, remarkably good; on the right, swampy. About 2 miles up the river found some Indian houses and about four families of Indians. There also found a party of Americans (7 in number) on their way f. Niagara. This river from Presqu' Isle is 22 miles. Latitude $41^{\circ}.31$.

Monday, July 13.—Winds w. b. s., hard gale; could not go on the lake with boats, a heavy sea from the westward. The wood up this creek white and red oak chestnut Black Walnut and Butternut.

After you are in the river there is two fathoms water but at entrance not 3 feet, owing to the sea beating in the sand.

Tuesday, 14th July.—W. s. w. hard gale with a heavy sea from the westward. Could not move the boats on the lake.

This day the surveyor laid down his work on a scale of 3

miles to two inches, up to Concaut river. Up this river is a fine place for a settlement. The swamp on the right hand going up this creek, extends back about 500 yards; then high land remarkably good. The white oak here very fit for shipbuilding. The Indian village on your left is called by the French ville Joye.

Wednesday, July 15.—Winds w. s. w., fresh gale, with sea from the westward. Could not move with the boats on the lake. Latter part of the day more moderate.

Thursday, July 16.—Winds w. s. w. light breeze. At A. M. set off with the boats and continued the survey. Began to chain along shore, for 3 miles; the road then getting bad was obliged to measure by log. The soundings along shore exceeding good at 300 yards from the shore 2 & 3 fathoms water soft bottom but within that distance, 11, 8, 9, 7 & feet.

At 12 M. arrived at the river Ouscubolu [Ashtabula]. 10 miles from the river Concaut. The entrance of this river 3 & 4 feet water; but after you are in the river, you find 2 or 3 fathoms water, the land exceeding good. The timber mostly white oak, chestnut and maple. Measured by log this day 17 miles; course w. s. w. A straight shore.

Friday, 17th July, 1789.—Winds w. s. w., a fresh breeze. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats and continued the survey. The surveyor with 4 hands on shore chaining, the remainder working the boats. The soundings at 400 yards distance from the shore, 2, 3 & 4 fathoms, clay bottom, the land high; clay banks; back from the lake very good and rich. The timber oak & chestnut in general the oak for shipbuilding.

At 4 P. M. arrived at the grand river. Sounded on the river & found $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms, soft bottom. Measured by log and chain this day $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles, course w. s. w. $\frac{1}{2}$ w. Grand river is 23 miles distant from the river ouscubola. Variation $2^{\circ}.40$ westerly.

Saturday, 18th July.—Winds s. w., a hard gale, heavy sea from the westward. Employed in sounding up this river (grand river) for 3 miles. Found the soundings from 2 fathoms to 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 feet water. The land on each side of the river rich with large meadows.

There are 4 small islands about one or two miles up from the mouth of the river. The distance across at the entrance of the mouth of the river is 200 feet. The soundings over the bar, coming into the river, 9 feet in the channel; out of the channel 8, 7, 6 & 5 feet. The outer edge of the bar is about 300 yards distant from the river. The channel runs in s. by w. without the bar are 2 & 3 fathoms water. This river is a good place for a settlement & for ship building. The timber is white oak, black walnut and butternut.

Sunday 19th, at Grand river. W. s. w. winds, a fresh gale with a sea from the westward. On your left hand, at entering the river, is a commanding ground, which formerly has been cleared; its distance from the mouth of the river is 403 feet. This ground is very fit for a *fortification*. The variation of the needle at this place is $2^{\circ}.30$ westerly. Squally with rain, could not move on the lake with the boats.

Monday, 20th July.—Winds s. w. fresh gale, with a sea from w. s. w. Could not move with the boats on the lake. Took the altitude of the sun, and found this river (at the mouth) in latitude $41^{\circ}.20$ north.

Tuesday, 21st July.—Winds w. s. w., light breeze. At 4 A. M. set off with the boats and began to measure by log. Soundings along the shore very good. At the distance of 300 yards from the shore, 2 & 3 fathoms water within that distance, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 feet water, good holding-ground.

At 4 P. M. arrived at Cayahoga river. Its distance from the grand river is 25 miles. Sounded the river & bar, found on the [? bar] 9 feet of water; in the river $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms soft bottom. This is an excellent harbour for small vessels of 40, 50 & 60 tons burthen. Mr. Wm. Wilson of Pitts Burgh says that a few years ago he was at Cayahoga, when the sand bar was so high, they were obliged to drag their boat across it, but on his return the same season (says that toward the autumn) there were 2 or 3 feet of water on the bar. All the mouths of the lake rivers are subject to such changes of their bars. Measured by log this day 25 miles; course w. s. w. $\frac{1}{2}$ s.

Wednesday, 22d July.—Winds s. e., light breeze. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats. Soundings along this shore 2

fathoms, close to the shore. The shore steep and rocky. No such thing as saving a boat or vessel on this shore in case of accident for 19 miles. The land apparently good. At 7 A. M. arrived at Rocky river, distant from Cayahoga 6 miles. I have certain information that along this Rocky River there are grind stones of the most excellent quality. Sounded the bar and found 9 feet water, sufficient to carry any small vessel into the river; after you are in the river there are 2 fathoms water. At 9 A. M. set off with the boats. Measured by log this day 24 miles; courses as follows: w. 3 miles, w. by n. 6 miles, w. n. w. 6 miles, & w. s. w. $\frac{1}{2}$ w. 9 miles. At 4 P. M. arrived at the river Reneshouse [Black river] & secured the boats.

Thursday, July 23d.—Winds s. s. w. light breeze. At A. M. set off with the boats. The land in general low. Sounded, and found the water not so steep as along the other parts of the shore, it being shoal to the distance of one mile a sandy bottom. At the distance of a mile, 2, 3 & 4 fathoms water, clay bottom. A great deal of meadow land along the part of the shore. At 12 M. passed Vermillion river, and at 3 P. M. arrived at the river Huron. Went up to see the village, found it about 7 miles up the river situated on a rising ground. They have in the village 3 priests. The land extremely good, with large meadows along the river. Measured by log and chain this day $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles, courses w. $\frac{1}{2}$ s. 10 miles, w. by n. $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

Friday, 24th July.—Winds s. w., fresh breeze. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats; surveyor on shore with 4 hands chaining. Sounding along the shore shoal water to the distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, sandy bottom, then 2 & 3 fathoms clay bottom. All along this shore low land with meadows. At 12 M. arrived at Sandusky. Sounded the entrance of the lake, & found two fathoms water in the channel. By observation, found this place in latitude $41^{\circ}.15$ n. The deep water going into Sandusky lake lays to the left. After you are over the bar you have 4 & 5 fathoms. The channel runs n. e. & s. w. From the river Huron to this place (the entrance of Sandusky lake) is 9 miles course w. n. w. $\frac{1}{2}$ n.

Saturday, 25th July.—Winds s. w. At 5 A. M. set off

with the boats, the light boat to sound the lake and the large boat, with the surveyor, to measure round the lake, measuring by log. The soundings over the lake, 2 & 3 fathoms, soft bottom until within half a mile of the shores; then you have 10, 9, 8 & 7 feet. This day sounded and measured up to Sandusky river.

Sunday, 26th July.—Winds n. e. fresh gale. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats and sounded up the river Sandusky, found 9 & 10 feet of water. The sides of this river are full of marshes, and next the marshes good interval lands. At 10 A. M. returned to the lake. Employed the boats measuring and sounding. Found the soundings from 2 to 3 fathoms in the channel at the entrance of the lake, out of the channel, 10, 8, 7, & 6 feet. The land round about this lake very good. A number of large meadows. The timber in general hickory and oak, with some chestnut. This is a very good place for shipbuilding.

Monday, July 27th.—Winds n. e., fresh breeze. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats. Continued to measure by log and sound, found the sounding regular; the land low, and exceeding rich. There are two French families settled by the entrance of this lake. Found the circumference of the lake $33\frac{1}{2}$ miles, its width $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. This lake is an excellent place for a settlement. Found the variation of the needle $2^{\circ}.28'$ w.

Tuesday, 28th July.—Winds easterly, moderate breeze. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats. Continued to measure by log, there being no beach. At 7 A. M. abreast of Sandusky Island. Its distance from the main land is $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The channel between the Island and the main, is called Sandusky channel. Soundings through this channel from 7, 5, 6, 3 fathoms. From the main shore it is shoal at the distance of $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from the shore, sandy bottom. At 10 A. M. passed by the Bass Islands. Measured by log this day $25\frac{1}{2}$ miles; courses as follows: n. by w. 4 miles; w. n. w. 4 miles; n. w. by n. $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles; s. w. $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles; n. w. $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The land very good with large meadows.

Wednesday, 29th July.—Winds s. w., a moderate breeze. At 4 A. M. set off with the boats. Continued the survey.

Found all along this shore a shoal, a general flat to the distance of 1 mile from shore a sandy bottom. The land swampy, with large meadows overflowed with water in front. Measured by log this day $20\frac{1}{2}$ miles, courses n. w. $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles, w. n. w. $13\frac{1}{2}$ miles, n. w. $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. At 3 P. M. arrived at Miami Bay. The land about 2 miles back from the marshes exceeding good ($20\frac{1}{2}$ miles).

Thursday, 30th July.—Winds s. w. fresh gale. At 5 A. M. set off with the boats, and continued the survey; one boat to measure by the log, the other to sound. Found this bay (Miami) to be 10 miles round; its depth of water 2 & 3 fathoms; the channel going into the bay, to n. w. of Cedar Island, which stands in the mouth of the bay. Measured from the Miami Bay to the mouth of the Detroit River by log, 25 miles; courses n. w. 4 miles; n. e. 15, n. e. by n. 4, n. n. e. 2. At 7 P. M. arrived at the mouth of Detroit River (25 miles).

Friday, 31st July.—Winds s. w., fresh gale. The surveyor and four hands on shore chaining and ascertaining the distance across the narrows leading to Detroit; the small boat employed in sounding. Found not less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms in the channel to the westward of the Isle of Bois Blanch, so that vessels may go up the west channel as well as they can on the east. On the east side of this island you have 7 fathoms.

Saturday, August the first, 1789. Winds s. w., fresh breeze. At 12 M. took the altitude of the sun. Found this place (mouth of Detroit river) in latitude $41^{\circ}.52$ n.; set off with the boats and at 6 P. M. arrived at Detroit. Latitude of Detroit $42^{\circ}.13$ m.

THE LIFE
AND ADVENTURES OF
MATTHEW BUNN



THE RAREST STORY OF ADVENTURE IN THE REGION OF THE NIAGARA

NARRATIVE OF MATTHEW BUNN

INTRODUCTION

On an October day in the year 1826 an old man passed along the main street of East Aurora, Upper Village, until he came to the small building which was the first and, then, the only law office in town. Entering, he made himself known to the young man who there awaited clients. This youth was in his twenty-seventh year. He had taught a district school in Buffalo; had served as clerk in the office of Asa Rice and Joseph Clary, early attorneys of this city; and after a year or so devoted to the combined occupations of teaching the village urchins how to spell, of clerical work with broom as well as with pen, and of some musing over Blackstone—an excellent combination—had been admitted to practice law. As he himself has recorded, “not having sufficient confidence to enter into competition with the older members of the Bar” in Buffalo, he withdrew to East Aurora and hung out his sign; with what success the world afterward came to know, for his name was Millard Fillmore.

His visitor, on this October day of 1826, was a man well past middle years, of an appearance which told of a life of hardship and exposure. His name was Matthew Bunn, and by his own account he had led a life of extraordinary adventure and hazard. Born in Brookfield, Mass., about 1772, he had enlisted at Providence in 1791 on an expedition into the Western country; had been taken captive by the Indians, near the Ohio, and in their hands had experienced great suffering. Escaping from the Indians, he fell into the scarcely less savage hands of George Girty, but ultimately escaped to Detroit, which British post he reached in April, 1793. For “damning King George and all the Royal Family,” which one must admit was (under the circumstances) an indiscretion, the unhappy Matthew was arrested and after a term of detention in prison was sent to Fort

NARRATIVE
OF THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
MATTHEW BUNN,
(OF PROVIDENCE, R. I.)
IN AN EXPEDITION AGAINST
THE

North-Western Indians,

IN THE YEARS 1791, 2, 3, 4 & 5.



[7TH EDITION, REVISED—4000 COPIES.]

BATAVIA.

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY ADAMS AND THORP.

.....
1828.

[BUNN'S "NARRATIVE"; FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE, EDITION OF 1828.]

Niagara, then, like Detroit, in British hands. Here, in order to avoid being shipped off to Quebec, he enlisted (he says) "under Captain Shanks, in the Queen's Rangers, on the 4th of June, 1794." Thereupon began a new series of adventures, of hardships and flights. He, with companions, deserted; they were captured, and as they were being taken back to headquarters, by boat on Lake Ontario, they rose against their captors and attempted to seize the boat. The effort failed miserably; subdued, wounded and bound, they were taken back, kept in irons for fifteen days, then sent to Niagara for trial. Bunn was sentenced to receive a thousand lashes. Five hundred blows he did receive, in full view of the paraded regiment, till the doctor interfered, saying he could not live through more whipping. Then followed some painful weeks of slow recovery for Matthew Bunn; and after he was well and had returned to duty, he deserted again, and plunged into a new series of adventures in the Niagara region, which finally brought him to Fort Erie, whence he crossed the river and took his way to the Genesee and thence eastward; returning—to Rehoboth, Mass.—in October, 1795.

More or less of this Matthew Bunn related to Millard Fillmore, in the little East Aurora law office. Much more of it he had, years before, written out, and published. The story of his adventures had seen several editions. So extraordinary was the narrative in some respects that it is not unlikely that doubts had been expressed as to its truth; at any rate Matthew Bunn felt called on, in issuing a new edition, to affirm the truth of his tale; and to that end he had called on Millard Fillmore, a duly empowered "Commissioner &c. for Erie County," before whom, on this 30th day of October, 1826, Bunn made sworn affidavit that his narrative was true.

Why he sought out the unknown youthful attorney in East Aurora, when his book was to be printed in Batavia, cannot now be told; nor indeed anything of his after life. His story appears to have been first printed at Providence in 1796. It was reprinted at Litchfield, Conn., in the same year. There is also an edition dated 1797, no place of publication being given. The next edition known to the present editor was printed in Batavia, by B. Blodgett, in 1826. Two years later Adams & Thorp of Batavia again published it. If, as the title-page asserts, that was the 7th edition, then there are at least two editions of it unknown to the editor. The title-page of the 1828 edition says—or seems to say—that 4,000 copies were printed. If that were true, one would expect "The Life and Adventures of Matthew Bunn" to be the commonest of the early books printed in Western New York. On the contrary, it is perhaps the rarest. The only copy of the 1826 edition known to the writer is owned by Mr.

W. H. Samson of Rochester; the only copy of the 1828 edition which the editor has been able to learn of is in the Library of Congress at Washington. It is from that copy that the present reprint is made; the title-page being given in fac-simile, and the spelling and inordinately long paragraphs given as in the original.

Sabin's Dictionary gives the title of the 1797 edition as follows: "Short Narrative of the Life and Sufferings of Matthew Bunn after his arrival at the British Garrison at Detroit, April 30, 1792, from his Indian captivity." The edition of 1828 says he reached Detroit April 30, 1793. The earlier date accords best with the dates of his enlistment and capture in 1791, for there is nothing in the narrative to indicate that he spent two winters among the Indians. In the revised edition of 1828, Bunn says he reached Detroit April 30, 1793; enlisted in the Queen's Rangers in June, 1794; set out from the Niagara for the Genesee, April 27, 1795, and reached home the following October. If we accept the dates as he gives them in the edition of 1828, his captivity among the Indians covered some eighteen months.

A copy of the first edition, 1796, is in the John Carter Brown collection at Providence. The Brinley library contained the Litchfield edition and that of Batavia, 1828. Sabin's Dictionary mentions but two editions, that of 1797 without place of publication, and the Batavia edition of 1828—wrongly giving one of the publishers as "Thorf" instead of "Thorp," an error due to a broken letter or bad printing. It is hoped that the present republication may bring other copies to light.

Matthew Bunn was far from the ideal hero. Indeed, at crucial times and in ticklish places, he shows somewhat of a craven streak. He nowhere reveals the fine manliness that marks for instance the character of David Ogden, a boy captive among the Indians on the Niagara in Revolutionary days. He was very far from being such a bold spirit as David Ramsay, the slayer of Indians, whose story also belongs to the Niagara. In its original printed form (it is included in P. Campbell's "Travels in the Interior inhabited Parts of North America, in the years 1791 and 1792," printed in Edinburgh in 1793) it vies in rarity with Matthew Bunn's book. There are numerous other figures in the very early days of this Niagara and mid-lake region, of men who were intrepid in quest of adventure, or patient under the weight of captivity, whose stories are the very embodiment of border romance, the very epitome of the history of their times, all worthy to be preserved in these Publications. But Matthew Bunn's narrative, so far as it relates to this immediate region, stands by itself a chapter of Niagara region history not elsewhere duplicated.

NARRATIVE OF MATTHEW BUNN

The Author of the following pages will make but a very short apology for re-publishing the following history of his adventures. To inform the public of the barbarity and inhumanity of the red and white Savages, and amuse the reading part of community, were amongst the reasons for its publication.

The author will not withhold from a generous public, as a further reason, that he hopes some pecuniary aid towards the support of a numerous family, from the sale of it. The hardships and sufferings to which he has been subjected, having broken down his once vigorous constitution.

THE AUTHOR.

NARRATIVE, &C.

MY HONORED FATHER lived in Brookfield, Massachusetts, and engaged in the American army, in the first year of the Revolutionary war, at Roxbury, and died the same year, 1779.

Being about the age of nineteen years, I enlisted under Ensign John Tillinghast, of Providence, for an expedition against the Indians, in the year 1791. When the period arrived when I must quit my home, orders were received for a part of the soldiers, viz. 28 in all, to embark on board a vessel destined to convey us toward the Western country, in which we went as far as New Brunswick, under the command of Lieut. Shearman. On our passage to New Brunswick, we had bad weather, though we arrived here in ten days; we

remained there about five days and then being equipped with our guns and accoutrements, we marched towards Pittsburgh. The weather was exceeding hot, which made our journey very tedious. We arrived at Pittsburgh some time in August, where Lieut. Shearman resigned and went home, and Ensign Balch, of Boston, took the command of the detachment, to headquarters. We remained there about three weeks, when we received orders to go down the Ohio River. The boats we went down in, were of two-inch plank, of white oak; the length of them was about forty feet, and about sixteen wide and they rowed with four oars, and three men at each oar; and over the top of each boat there was a roof like the roof of a building, for a defence against the Indians firing from the shore; though one night we received several shots from them, but there was no man hurt; and so we continued our route night and day, until we arrived at Fort Washington where we joined the main army, which consisted of about two thousand men; and we remained there about two weeks. Then we received orders to march for the Miamis, about twenty-five miles, and there made another halt, and built a fort which is called Fort Hamilton, and the main army repaired to said fort: but I was ordered another way on command; first going twenty miles down the Ohio River, and then entered into another small river, called Big Miami, that leads to Fort Hamilton. From thence we advanced about forty miles farther; this command was under Ensign Cobb, of Taunton, and Sergeant Holley, of Rhode Island, and consisted of a corporal and twenty-four privates, which went to guard the boat-load of provisions by water. This boat drew about eighteen inches water, but the river being lower than we were aware of, we were obliged to draw the boat by main strength in places of fifty and an hundred yards at a time, in eight or ten inches of water, which caused us to be eight days on that passage. On the fifth day at night, we encamped on the banks of the river, all except the boatmen, who said they would sleep under the banks of the river, by the boats, which they did. We kept the guard on the bank of said river for fear of the Indians; and just at daylight one of the guard looked down the banks and

cried out, there are Indians! He had no sooner spoke than the Indians fired at the boatmen under the bank of the river; and as the men rose up there was a ball struck the bushes about six inches above their heads; but fortunately there was no man hurt. We were all immediately alarmed. A small party went in pursuit of them, and got sight of the Indians who were on horses, and fired at them; on our firing at them they dropped their packs, and some skins, and several trifling things, which they had stole from the inhabitants the night before, which we got; one of the balls struck an Indian on his rump, but his stooping forward on his horse prevented his being much hurt, but cut his blanket from his rump to his shoulders; for, after I was taken by the Indians, I found out that my master was there at that time, though I never dared to let him know that I was in that party; but he often told me how nigh one of the Indians came being shot. The horses they had stolen out of Judge Simmon's* stable, about twelve miles below Fort Washington, and they were pursued so close, and our firing upon them gave them such a fright, that they went several miles back on the same way they came, which gave the party a chance to come up with them, which they did, and pursued them so close through the swamp, that the inhabitants got their horse again; but the Indians made their escape and went off.

We moved on our way with our boats, but the water being so low, we made a very poor hand of getting along with it, though we went about nine miles that day; and at night we encamped upon as clear a place as we could find, for fear of the Indians coming upon us; and there was a guard of a sergeant, corporal, and nine privates, and two sentinels stood at some distance from the camp, to keep watch that no Indians came upon us unknown. But about ten o'clock in the evening, some Indians came creeping up

* There were not so many "judges" in southwestern Ohio at that day as to leave any doubt that Bunn's allusion is to John Cleeves Symmes, the famous pioneer who in 1788 had shared in selecting the site of the present city of Cincinnati, and who in 1789 was with the colony that founded North Bend. In February, 1788, he was appointed one of the judges of the Northwest Territory. His daughter Anna became the wife of William Henry Harrison, afterwards President; and his nephew, John Cleeves Symmes, distinguished himself for bravery in the battle of Niagara and at the sortie from Fort Erie.

to the fire, but the sentinels fired upon them, which alarmed the whole party; we immediately brought water from the river and put out the fire, and every man took to a tree, and stood in that situation until morning. The Indians kept creeping around, and we exchanged several shots with them that night; but it being very dark there was no man hurt; and when it was daylight, we went into our boats, and moved on our way, but we had not gone more than half a mile, when looking back we saw three Indians upon the shore where we had encamped; being very much fatigued, we kept on our way and took no notice of them; and on that day about three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived at a small garrison, called Dunlap's Station, which was about sixteen miles from the place of our destination, but we were obliged to leave our boat, by reason of the lowness of the water.

We remained there about two days, then we went through the bushes about ten miles, and came to the army and there we remained until Fort Hamilton was finished, and then we received orders to march for the Maumee towns, leaving about forty men to keep the garrison. The road we went, we had to cut and clear as we traveled, day by day, which made our journey very tedious, for we could go but about seven miles a day. We went on our march until we had got about forty-five miles, and then we built another fort, called Fort Jefferson; and after we had been building said fort about three days, I happened to be on the outside picket guard at night. The next morning there were three of the guard and myself, not having any duty to do, obtained liberty of our officers to go half a mile distance a hunting, being very scant of provisions; and after we had passed the sentinels, we parted, and agreed to take a small circle and then to meet upon a plain, and then I went to the right hand, and coming round a swamp, in a blind foot path, a little distance from the plain, looking out for game, not thinking of any danger, on coming into a thicket of brush, there rose up three Indians, which you may think not a little surprised me; I looked this way and that way, for a place to run, but found it impracticable, for there were Indians on

every side, with their tomahawks over my head, so I saw that I might as well give up, as to make any resistance, dropping my firelock, and putting out my hand to shake with them, they shook hands with me, and bid me make haste, and then they took me through a swamp upon a dry ridge, and sat down for about an hour, and then went on again, and traveled until about twelve o'clock, when one of them gave a most hideous halloo, which made the woods ring again, and one of the Indians told me, bye and bye, I would see plenty of Indians, and in about half an hour one of them gave another halloo, and a quarter of a mile forward, it seemed as though the woods were alive with Indians, and directly there came about twenty of them running to meet us, some with knives, and some with tomahawks, and painted so that they looked more like so many evil spirits than any thing else. I thought then my life was short, but they all came and shook hands with me, except three or four of them, who looked very surly at me, and two of them took hold of me, and led me into a miry swamp, and came upon a little dry knoll in the middle of the swamp, where they had had a fire about six days watching the army; but no sooner had I got to the fire than one took off my hat, another my coat, and another my waistcoat, another my shoes, and one stripped me of my shirt, and gave me an old one in lieu of it, which was very dirty; then they brought me an old Indian who could talk the English language, correctly, and began to examine me to know what condition the army was in. I told them as good a story as I could. I saw they were upon the catch, and I made as few words answer as possible. After they had examined me as much as they thought proper, one of them went and brought me some roasted venison and a piece of bear meat; and after I had eaten as much as I wanted, though I had not much appetite to eat, they asked me if I could run fast; I told them I could not; then they told me I must run or die immediately. Then they packed up their things and set out towards the Maumee town.*

* Up to the time of his capture, as the student of this period of our history will have noted, Bunn was a member of St. Clair's badly-conducted and ill-fated expedition. Although he gives no dates, beyond the year 1791, his narrative agrees closely with the records of St. Clair's march. From Fort Wash-

When they first set out from the camp they spread themselves every way, so that no man could know which way they went, and after they had gone about one mile that way, they came together again; and after they came together again a second time, they gave me a pack of meat and some skins, about the weight of a bushel of corn; and then one went forward, and they sent me next, and the rest of them followed after, hurrying me on, keeping me on a trot all the afternoon, until just night, when one of them told me to run. I told him I could not run, for I was very weary; I had no sooner spoke than one of them struck me on the back of my head with the breech of his gun, which knocked me down to the ground, but I soon recovered and got up again; then I saw that I must run, though hardly able to walk; and we went on in this way until dusk of the evening. Then one of them took me and led me about half a mile from the swamp, and the rest went with him, and went to making a fire; but my master took me and sat down about two rods from the fire, and asked me how I should like to be tied; I told him I should not like to be tied at all, but he said I must be tied, or maybe I should run away; then he took a parcel of cords, and tied me; he first tied my elbows behind me, and my hands together, forward, and then drew a moccasin over each hand, and tied them together, down to the waistband of my breeches, and then laid me on my back, and tied a cord round my neck, and another round my legs, and tied them fast to a tree, and the Indians lay across the cords. I lay in this condition until morning, and it may well be

ington, now Cincinnati, to Fort Hamilton, now Hamilton, O., is twenty-four miles; but the detachment of troops Bunn was with, were sent farther down the Ohio, then advanced up the Great Miami to Dunlap's Station, twelve miles from the Ohio; thence they joined the army at Fort Hamilton, which the main body of troops left Oct. 4th. The advance from this point, forty-five miles, occupied ten days, to Fort Jefferson, some six miles south of what is now Greenville, O. Here Bunn left the army; he says, to hunt, but there were many desertions at this point, and his subsequent record warrants the suspicion that he had had all he wanted of the expedition under St. Clair. The Maumee town to which he was first taken was one of the seven Indian villages in the neighborhood of the junction of the St. Mary's and the St. Joseph, which form the Maumee. His subsequent progress towards freedom was down this river. It is about 140 miles from Ft. Wayne, at the junction of the rivers named, to the mouth of the Maumee at Toledo.

thought that I underwent a great deal that night, for I was tied in such a manner that I could not stir hand or foot; neither had I any thing to cover me but the heavens, for they never gave me so much as a blanket to put over me, though it snowed and rained; and in the morning when they untied me, I was so stiff with the cold, I could not stand, but I rolled over the ground and rubbed myself awhile, and set by the fire, till I got so that I could go; then making themselves ready moved on their way to town again. When they had traveled about three or four miles, they made a halt for about half an hour, when one of them came and painted me black, and painted themselves black likewise; but not knowing the meaning of being painted in such a manner, I thought it was done for their own diversion. But they immediately went on their way until about ten o'clock in the forenoon, then making another stand, which had like to have been my last, they first spotted the trees round for some distance, and then made blacking of powder and marked the trees in all kinds of disfigured creatures. They came round and began to make a speech, and the Indian that painted me told me to get up. Now my master had gone in pursuit of a deer, and was not with the rest of the company. In the meantime, while they were cutting their capers over me, my master came up and looked angry at them, and in a great rage, and made a long speech to them, which seemed to displease many of them, but they soon took up their packs and were for marching on. Now I was to have been tomahawked here, but I knew nothing of it until I was brought to the Maumee town; and my master coming up at that time, was the means of saving my life. But we had not gone far from this place, when the Indian that was the means of saving my life told me to wash off the black that was on my face, which he said was no good, which I immediately did, and then he painted my face red, which was a token that I was not to die. We went on the remainder of the day, and at night when we encamped, they bound me as they did before, which I thought was very hard usage, to travel all day, and at night to be bound in such a manner. But on the third day, about four o'clock, we arrived at the Maumee town; but when we had got within about two

miles of said town, the Indians made a halt, and my master painted my face, one half red, and the other part black, and tied a large rope round my neck, which hung by my waist; then he took my pack from me, and one of them that could speak English told me that bye and bye we should come into town; and he further said, perhaps when you get into town some saucy boys will come out and strike you, and if they do, you will see a long house, and sit down, and they will strike you no more, which I found to be true; for when we had got within about half a mile of the town one of them gave a loud halloo, and it seemed as though the woods were alive with Indians for a mile round; and immediately the savages came running to meet us as thick as the squirrels in the woods, which I thought the most frightful sight I had ever beheld; but directly we came into the town, and as we passed the first camp, there came out a young warrior and struck me on the back of my neck, and I fell to the ground; and when I recovered on my knees, another gave me a kick, and kicked me on my face; and as soon as I got up another caught me by the hand and said run, run, you devil! and as I run he struck me over the face and eyes; and when I had got within an hundred yards of the long house, which the Indian told me of, the path on both sides was paraded with Indians, as many as could stand; and as I run through, every one of them gave me a blow, some with their hand, and some with a club, and others a kick with the foot, but every one would have a blow at me; so that when I got to the house, my face was as bloody as though I had dipped my head in blood, besides other bruises all over my body. Just as I got to the door, and was going in, one of them hit me on the side of my head, and sent me past the corner of the house; but I scrambled up again and went into the house, and as soon as I entered the door I met an old grey-headed chief, and shook hands with him, but I was so grieved with such usage, that I could not refrain from shedding tears; which I think almost everyone would have done, but he said, you must not cry, for if you do, the Indians will kill you; but I sat down, and immediately they brought a white man to examine me, which he did very closely, concerning the


army, and what situation they were in, though I made my story as short as possible. And then they took him out and brought in another, to see whether I told a true story or not, and after they had reëxamined me as much as they pleased, they went and brought me some of their bread, made of pounded corn, and some homminy; and after I had eaten, they brought me a little prisoner boy, that had been taken about two years before on the river called Monongahela, though he delighted more in the ways of the savages than in the ways of Christians; he used me worse than any of the Indians, for he would tell me to do this, that and the other, and if I did not do it, or made any resistance, the Indians would threaten to kill me, and he would kick and cuff me about in such a manner that I hardly dared to say my soul was my own, although I daily underwent the greatest cruelty. Often times there would Indian strangers come to visit their tawney brethren, and the first salute they would give, generally, was to knock me down, and frequently, to repeat their blows; and if I made any resistance, or shewed resentment, before or after I got up, those savage-like brutes would repeat the same treatment with terrible additions. I was forced to submit in silence to that inhuman and barbarous treatment for the space of nearly a week.

It being about the time the Indians were gathering to meet the American army for battle, there was a number of Strangers in the vicinity, and my master told me they would kill me; and he took me from the long council house to his wife's camp, although she was gone to the hunting ground (about fifty miles distant) to winter; and the savages were gathered together in this town for a general rendezvous, and remained here, in number fifteen hundred, or thereabouts, for one week, and then they all marched to meet Gen. St. Clair's army*; and after those Indians were gone, my master's son took me to their hunting ground where his mother and several young Indians were; I had more of a dog's life than that of a Christian, for they would not allow me to sleep in

* The Indians engaged St. Clair, Nov. 4, 1791, at the site of the present town of Fort Recovery, O., at a distance, in a straight line, of some fifty miles from the head of the Maumee, which was to have been the objective point of the expedition.

the camp with them ; and if I made a hut by myself, the Indian boys would pull it away, as if it was only to worry and fatigue me, and if they thought I was offended at it, they did it with seemingly more pleasure, and I was obliged to submit, and through the protection of Divine Providence I was enabled to support it.

In the beginning of winter, these savages lived only four or five days in a place, and would move eight or ten miles further at each time, and kept in continual motion until the snow was some depth ; and by that time they had got 150 miles from the town ; at that time I had to build huts for five families, to cut wood and carry it some distance, because they would not burn any but dry. I had a very short allowance of provisions, and being almost naked for the want of clothes, let the weather be wet or dry, hot or cold, I was kept at hard work of some kind or other, such as dressing deer skins, or hunting raccoons ; and with savage shouts, they would bid me exert myself or I should die. But the fatigues day and night were not all that I suffered, for the Indian boys, when I was asleep, used frequently to put live coals at my feet, to divert themselves at seeing me start ; and as I had no clothes to myself, I often lay near the fire ; one night a boy drove me far from it, but I told them that I would not lay back any farther, unless they would give me some covering, but their cruelty was further exerted in not giving me anything to eat for two days afterwards ; and sometimes I would get meat and lay it up in the camp, but the boys would frequently come in and give it to the dogs, on purpose to insult me, and put me to trouble ; one day there came only one into the camp where I slept, and took my meat and gave it to the dog, looking me in the face and laughing ; this offended me so much, that I thought I might as well be tomahawked as to live in torment and vexation, and immediately I caught up a stick and struck him over the head, which knocked him down, and almost stunned him ; I was then certain there was no possibility of saving my life, for he got up very quick and went to my master and told him of the affair, and it proved well for me that he made additions to the story. I went to a camp that belonged to an



Indian trader, and told him what had happened, and desired him to go and plead me off from being killed; but I had hardly told my story, before I saw my master coming with his tomahawk in his hand, who seemed in a great rage, but the man went and met him, and desired him to hear the other story, before he went any further, which he complied with, and after he had heard the truth of the whole matter, and how he was always tormenting and fatiguing me, turned back and went his way, and never said anything to me of the affair afterwards. Soon after this affair happened, my master went a hunting for several days, and when he came home, brought several strangers with him, who encamped but a small distance from us, and at night my master told me to cut some wood for them; I replied that I was very hungry, as I had eat nothing that day, and he saw that I did not move so quick as I ought to have done, he called his son, and told him to bring his war club; at my hearing this, I caught hold of my leggings and moccasins, to put them on, but he came in a great rage and violence, with a war club in his hand, and struck at me with great force, and would have killed me, but as I saw the blow coming, I knocked off the back part of the cabin and escaped, otherwise I should have had my brains scattered through the camp; but my [I] immediately got my tomahawk, and went about three hundred yards from the camp, and cut wood enough to burn that night; and having nothing on my feet or legs, the crust of the snow being almost hard enough to bear me up, but breaking through nearly every step, being knee deep.—Thus when I had done that small task, (as they called it) my feet and legs looked as if they had been cut and hacked with sickles and crosscut saws; the blood pressing forth from each ghastly wound, from my knees to my toes; and when the savage-like brutes saw it, they laughed, and said I had got a beautiful pair of striped leggins on, which would make me rest well, and so forth.

They used to send me a hunting oftentimes with the Indian boys, and sometimes we would be gone three or four days at a time; at night, after I had made a fire for them, they would make me build another for myself; and one time

in particular, that we were out, I supposed that we were within forty miles of an American fort, and in the morning I came to the fire as they lay asleep, and took their tomahawks and almost determined to kill them both, and make my escape to the American fort; but I took the second thought that the woods were full of savages, and if they should come across my track, and follow me, they would have ten chances to catch me where I had one to get clear of them; and thought I should have some opportunity of getting away without running so great a risk; and so concluded it was best to be as patient as I could, although I had the tomahawk up several times to drop it into their heads; but I forebore striking.

Not long after that, as one of the Indian boys was sitting one day in the camp with me alone, he on one side of the fire and I on the other, and having his bow in his hand, and a handfull of wooden arrows, he would shoot them at me, and after many trials he shot one into my wrist, which bent the point against the bone, I caught hold of a stick, about three inches thick, and threw at him, and hit him on the side of the head, and knocked him almost senseless; but it happened to be when my master was gone, and he did not get home under three weeks after, and by that time it had all died away; for I never heard anything about it; although if my master had been at home, they would have tomahawked me themselves.

By this time of the year corn grew very scarce, and the meat was very poor, and but little of it for my share; sometimes they would kill a raccoon, and my part of it would be the head without anything to eat with it; that was my allowance for a day, and very often for two or three days, had nothing at all but what nuts I could find in the woods, and some other trifles. About the middle of March, as some of the copper-headed boys were hunting, they found a large black-snake, that was drawn out of the water by a mink, and brought it to the camp, roasted it with a squirrel, broke it up fine, and gave it to me to eat; but as soon as I found out what it was, I hove it down by the fireside, and when my mistress perceived that, she told me to eat it, or I should not have anything, and they never offered me anything more for

three days. After that time there were several savages going upon a scout towards the American frontier, my master and all that belonged with our family, went with that party, and left me with my mistress; but there were several other camps, and some remaining Indians in the neighborhood, who had orders to chastise me, if they saw me saucy to my mistress. We remained in that place about a week, and some American Indians came within ten miles of us and killed two or three families of the Delawares, which put our tribe in such a fright, that they fled to their towns, which were about one hundred and fifty miles, but the way we went it was two hundred miles, to keep out of sight of some hostile savages. The way being very bad that we went, our journey lasted three weeks, and all that time my mistress never gave me a spoonful of any thing to eat, only what I could get in the woods, such as ground nuts, and some other nuts, and having a pack to carry, weighing sixty or seventy pounds (that being my daily task), and frequently could get nothing to eat for two or three days. Sometimes I would get a peck of ground nuts and my mistress would take them all from me. One day I borrowed a gun of an Indian, and went a hunting, to kill something to eat, and by chance I found eight large black-snakes sunning themselves; I killed and strung them on a stick, and carried them to the camp. My mistress looking out, imagined I had some black squirrels, I came into camp and threw down the snakes at the old squaw's feet, which enraged her so much, she threw a tomahawk at me; the next thing that came to hand was a brand of fire, on which I was obliged to leave the camp, and did not return that day; but when the other savages saw her that knew of her giving me a roasted snake to eat, some days before, it pleased them very much, because they said I served her tit for tat, or paid the old score; in the evening she called for me, and asked what I brought those snakes for, I made reply that they were to pay her for the one she gave me to eat. She, believing that I was even with her, let it drop, and it soon blew over, though I fared none the worse for provisions afterwards.

When we arrived at the Maumee town, I resolved to

make my escape from the savages. We arrived at the town about the middle of the afternoon; and after I had made a camp for my mistress, we not encamping on the side of the river where the town was, I took a walk down the river, to see if I could find a canoe to make my escape in, which I did, lying under the bank of the river; and in the edge of the evening, about nine o'clock, after the old squaw had got asleep, I got up and crept away from the camp, and then had to go one quarter of a mile through thick bushes to the river; it was exceedingly dark, and when I came there the canoe was gone. I was obliged to make all the speed possible, to get back to the camp, for fear they would miss me, and I had but just got to the fire, and laid down, before my mistress called to me to make a fire. On the next morning there came a prisoner by the name of Morris Doyle, from over the river, and I went out to work and asked him if he did not mean to try to make his escape from the savages? He said he did not know the woods, but if he could get any one to set off with him he would go. I told him that I was resolved to go that night, and he said, if we could get together he would go with me, and I asked him how we should get together; he said his master had a very nice canoe, and oftentimes the Indians would come after they were gone to bed, to come over the river, and he had to get up and fetch them across, and he said I must come down when I thought they were all asleep, and give an Indian halloo, and he would get up and come over the river with the canoe, and we would make the best of our way down the river, night and day, until we arrived at some Christian settlement; but it happened in my favor—my mistress went over the river that day, to see her daughter, and when she came back, she said I must go over the river that night, and stay there, to clear the land for corn. This pleased me very well, for I should have a much better chance to escape; and after going over the river where they had sent me to work, I staid there until about sunset, and then asked liberty of the Indian to go and see Morris Doyle;—said I had not seen him for a great while, and he told me to go, so I went to his camp, which was about a mile; when I came there he had just got over the

river from work ; I told him that he might make ready for a start that night, for the sooner we went the better we could make our escape ; for my master was gone out to war, and all the Indians that belonged to that family, and I did not think the other savages would follow us so close as my master ; so we agreed to go that night, and as soon as it was dark I went out, as if going home, and lay in the brush until the savages were all asleep, and then I came in, very still, and awoke him, and we went down to the River where the canoe was, and when we came there we found no paddles in the canoe, and very poor poles, and the water was six or seven feet deep, and when we had gone down the river about half a mile, the Indian camps being very thick upon the banks of the river, they heard us going down, though it was so dark they could not see us, but there came an Indian down to the bank of the river, and called out three or four times, and asked who was there—but we squatted down in our canoe, and let the current carry us down past them. We had not gone more than three miles before we were hailed again by the savages ; but we set down in the canoe until we drifted past the camp, and then we went about four miles and there came an Indian out of his camp, and came down to the river with a brand of fire in his hand, and spoke in his own language, and asked who was there ; but we made no answer, but went on as fast as we could ; we went on for an hour and a half, and we saw some person going down by the side of us with a brand of fire in his hand ; I then told Doyle that it was not safe to go any further in a canoe, for the Indian was going down to head us, we run our canoe ashore, and took to the land, and I went forward expecting that he was close behind me, until I had got as much as a mile, then made a halt, and called him, but could hear nothing of him ; it would not do for me to tarry long, for I heard the canoes after us. I went that night with all the speed it was possible to make, although it was very slow, for it was exceeding dark, and about midnight it began to rain ; some part of the way I went on the bank of the river, and the other part took to the woods, thick and thin, and went through swamps and thickets ; sometimes I would run, and very often was

brought up with my legs against an old log, which would pitch me headforemost into the brush for nearly a rod. One time as I was running, I came to a gutter that ran through from a pond, and the bank being almost straight down about twelve feet deep, and it being so dark that I did not perceive it, and taking one long step from top to bottom, came headforemost into it, in about four feet of water! but notwithstanding I made a shift to force my way thro'. Any one must suppose that I was not a very little frightened at that misstep; but when I came to the bank on the other side, it being somewhat steep, was very much troubled to get up, and fell back a number of times, but by good luck at last got out: I traveled until daylight, and then went three miles back from the river into the woods, and came to a thick swamp, crept into a hollow log, and lay there until evening, and then set out on my nocturnal route; but faring very hard, and my being much bewildered, did not know which way to steer, but travelled about two hours, and not finding the river, it was certain I was lost. I then turned another course, and had not gone more than a mile before I came to a footpath; and then did not know which way to go, but happened to take the wrong way, and had not gone far before I met an Indian in the path. I knew that running would not save me, and thought perhaps, if I could keep close by him, and say nothing, I might not be mistrusted; but on nearing him, he asked where I was going? I told him that I was hunting after a horse and had got lost. He asked me what my master's name was? I told him I did not know, but he was a Delaware. He then asked me if I thought I could find my camp alone; my reply was, I expected that this path would lead me to some camp that I knew. He said there was a camp close by us. Then I told him I would go there with him, and perhaps should know the way home from there. He said he was going there. Then I thought my escape was at an end, as I could not do less than to go with him, so I followed him to the camp, and when we came there he asked me if I knew the camp? I replied no, but would stay there until the next morning, and then would find the way home.

All this time he did not mistrust my running away, from the Indians, but when we came into the camp, he told them that I was lost, and wanted to sleep there that night, so that I might find the way home in the morning. But in the mean time, in came the infamous George Girty,* the younger, who knew me, and said that I had ran away from the Indians, for they had been down to his camp that day after me. When he first came in, he looked at me, and spoke in the Indian language, and asked them how I came there. They made answer that I was lost; but Girty said that I was a liar, for there were two that run away from the Indians, and that I was one of them; and he said the Indians were after us, and had left word with him to take me up if he could find me. Then Girty asked me if I did not run away from the Indians; I told him I did not; he said he believed that I told a lie; they directly began to converse together, to know what they should do with me. Girty said that he would take me home with him, and the next day take me back to my master. All that while I sat very well composed, as if I could not understand their language, although I knew if I could get over the river, I should stand a very good chance to make my escape once more. The next day we set off to his camp, which was about six miles. He took good care that I should not go be-

* George Girty, "the younger," was a half-breed son of George Girty, and grandson of the Simon Girty who was killed by an Indian in 1751. This Simon left four sons, Thomas, Simon, James and George. They were all taken prisoners by the Indians, with whom they remained closely identified. They all figure prominently in border history during the Revolution and the years that followed. George, father of the half-breed to whom Bunn here refers, was adopted by the Delawares. In 1775 he was living near Pittsburg, but in 1779 deserted to the British at Detroit. He became British disbursing agent in the Shawanese towns; in his later years, having taken a Delaware wife, he lived in the Delaware towns on the Maumee. James, two years his senior, also mentioned in Bunn's narrative, in his later years had a trading post at Girty's Point, five miles above Napoleon, O. Simon Girty—most famous, or infamous, of the brothers—attended a treaty held by Sir John Johnson at Niagara in 1786; and here he obtained the promise of certain lands in Canada, near the Detroit river, in recognition of his services rendered to the British during the Revolution. Much relating to the Girtys may be found in the Haldimand Papers (MSS., British Museum, and copies in the Archives office, Ottawa); the best printed account is Consul W. Butterfield's "History of the Girtys" (Cincinnati, 1890), a most thorough and painstaking work. It gives an account of several American captives who came into the hands of the Girtys, but Matthew Bunn and his excessively rare "Narrative" were evidently unknown to its author.

hind, for he put me forward, following on with a tomahawk in one hand, and his rifle in the other; and we went in that condition until we arrived at the river, and he called for a canoe and we went across, and soon came to his camp. But when he came there, his father, and James Girty, his brother, knew me, and several other of the Indians, and George Girty asked me where I wished to go; I told him I wanted to go where I could have better fare than I had among the Indians; he asked me if they did not give me enough to eat; I told him, instead of giving me enough to eat, they gave me nothing at all. He asked me if I was hungry; I told him that some victuals would be very kindly accepted; for I had not eat anything for three weeks but what I could get in the woods; he told me if I would go and cut some wood and make a fire, I should have something to eat. It was then evening, and I cut some wood and made a fire. As I designed to make my escape the first opportunity, I sat by the fire all night, and made two or three attempts to get away, but the dogs would hear me, and make such a barking that the savages would get up to see what the matter was; but early in the morning I heard them whispering together to know what they should do with me. The old squaws and young Girty, said they would carry me back that day to my master again. Hearing this, and not having any chance to make my escape, made me feel quite down-hearted; there was one George Whiteeyes* who could understand English, and perceiving that I was somewhat troubled in mind, asked me what the matter was; I told him that I heard them say they would carry me back to my master; I told him I was resolved not to go alive, for I knew they would put me to the torture in the most barbarous manner. He then told them what I said, and they concluded to send word to the Indians that I was there, which they did by sending young Girty unbeknown to me. When he had been gone about half an hour, a little negro boy who belonged to James

* "Captain" White Eyes was a Delaware chief, frequently mentioned in the records of the time. His name is in the list which Lord Dunmore furnished to the British Government, of those whom he considered loyal on the frontiers of Virginia. (MS. list, Haldimand Papers.) He is also mentioned in Hewelster's "Narrative," p. 182.

Girty, asked me if I knew where young Girty had gone; I told him I did not; he said he heard them agree for me to be kept all that day while they could give word to the Indians. When I heard this I went to old Girty, and asked him where young Girty had gone; he said he had gone after a horse that was lost. I was then convinced there was evil determined against me. I told him it lay in his power to help me, and begged he would. He said I had better be content to go back, for he did not think the Indians would hurt me. I told him he could not satisfy me with such stories as that, for he knew better. He said he could not assist me for fear of the Indians, for if they knew he helped me, they would fall aboard of him; but he said I might go to James Girty, his brother, and perhaps he would assist me, which I did; when I came to him, he also told me he could do nothing for me, for fear the Indians would find it out and blame him. I then asked him if I might go over the river to M'Daniel's, who kept a store on the other side, he said I might go and see him, if I would come back again; I told him if he was afraid of my running away he might send his negro boy with me; accordingly he did. As soon as I got over the river I told the boy to stand by the canoe until I ran up to the house, and then I would come back again; but instead of going to the house, I went into the woods about a mile, and crept under an old log, and lay there from sunrise until dark; then went to Mr. M'Daniels and told him my condition, and begged his assistance; but he said it was out of his power to help me; that if I had been there about two hours sooner I might have had my passage into Detroit, for he had sent two pettiaugers* of packs to that place; that he feared the Indians, and could not assist me. I asked him if he could help me to some provisions; he said he had none except what he bought of the Indians, and was then quite destitute. Then I began to be almost discouraged for fear of being taken; but by chance there was a prisoner who lived near by, being there, asked me if I had not made my escape from the Indians. I told him I had; he told me it

* Periauger, a canoe formed of the trunk of a tree; a pirogue. Charlevoix uses the old form.

was not safe for me to be there, for the Indians were hunting after me but a little while before; he advised me to go down the river that night, gave me a paddle, and showed me a large pettiauger that I could go across the river to the side that the village was, and said there I would find a small canoe, and told me to make my escape down the river; but when I got across, and went past the town, I could find no canoe except a birch one, and not being acquainted with them I made out but poorly; the wind blew very fresh up the river so that it took me quite on the other side, hard by an Indian camp on the top of the bank, and the dogs made such a barking that the Indians came out, but it was so dark they could not discover me. As soon as they were still I pushed over to the other side of the river, let my canoe drift, and made the best of my way by land. I then had about two miles to travel to get past the Indians; and to add to my sorrow, through thickets and over hedge fences, until I was almost torn to pieces. After I had got about three or four miles past the Indian town, I heard two horse bells, at a distance from the river, went to them, caught one, and took off the cords that his legs were tied together with, made a halter of them, put it on, and was just ready to mount when I heard the Indians a little distance forward, which obliged me to leave the horse standing, and make the best of my way through swamps and pond-holes. About twelve o'clock that night I came into a small footpath, where I saw an Indian lying asleep by the side of the road. Previous to his lying down he had made him a fire, but it was all out except a small coal which I happened to see, otherwise I should have stepped upon the savage, which gave me a start, but stepping back softly and creeping by him he did not wake. So I went forward that night till break of day. I then went back into the woods about half a mile, lay down and slept until about ten o'clock in the morning, and then thought I would travel a little by daylight, and went upon the shore, for the savages were frequently passing and repassing in the road I was in. After traveling about three miles on the shore, I saw a camp over the river, and they discovered me—they gave an Indian whoop, and I gave them another; they hallooed a second

time, and I again repeated the same, which made them doubt my being one of them, they came down to the river which was very wide, and the wind blew exceeding hard up the river, so that it drove them upstream some ways from me; for there was a long point made out into the river betwixt me and where they had to go on shore, and as soon as they were past the point, I left the river, and went into the woods about forty rods from the river, and crept into a thick tree top that was lying down, where I hid myself. I had not been there but a few minutes before the savages came by, looking after me, until towards evening, not finding me, they returned back again. I remained in this place until sunset. When I supposed they were all encamped for that day, so there was no danger, I went on my way again, but had not proceeded but a few rods when I was met by three squaws, which gave me a start, supposing there were Indians close by, but as it happened, there were none to be seen. I traveled all that night, sometimes on the run, and then on the walk, sometimes upon the sandy shore, and then up in the bushes. My moccasins were so worn out that my feet bled, but made the best of my way until about the middle of the night, then came to where there were two large canoes loaded with skins, which belonged to the savages that were encamped at a small distance from the river. I went to the canoes to see if there were any thing to eat, and found a bag full of deer and rackoon's skull bones, for dressing skins; it being very dark, I took them to be bread—got my hands full, but did not try to eat any until I had got some distance from them, but when I did attempt it found I was deceived, and was much vexed, after having taken so much pains to steal for my life a parcel of bones. I made all speed possible to get away, for fear of the savages, and traveled until about an hour before daylight, when I heard a drum at a great distance off.

I then began to be encouraged, supposing by the intelligence I had received that I was not far from some Christian people. But upon coming down, I found it to be an Indian town, situated upon the other side of the river, all except two or three camps which were covered with flags and stood on the side of the river where I was, and I went to one of them,

and seeing nobody except an old squaw and two small children, made bold to go in and warm myself by the fire, for I was very much fatigued and worn out, and chilled through with the cold, for it rained and hailed all night, which made me very uncomfortable, being out in the storm; after sitting down by the fire about half an hour, the old squaw awoke and made some movements, so I made the best of my way out of the camp, without being discovered; in the mean time, it had got to be daylight, and I repaired to the river side. My moccasins being quite worn out, and my feet so sore and bloody, anybody else might easily have taken me on the ground. After going down the river about a mile, I came to a small village of natives, where there was a store kept by a Frenchman; passing by, and turning to go in, the door being partly open, I saw the floor covered with drunken Indians, and hearing one of them say in their language there is a white man, I turned and went round the house, and there found a hogpen, where the hogs had just crept out, and crept in in their place; but had not been there long before the Indians came round the house, looking after me, but not finding me, they went in again. Directly a Frenchman came out of the house, and as soon as I saw him, presented myself to him, and asked him if he could not assist me; he said he could not for fear the Indians would find it out and kill him. Furthermore, he said it was not safe for me to be there, for the Indians would soon be up and likely to see me, and then it would be impossible for me to get clear; but he said I must go ten miles farther and I should come to an Englishman's house where I should be much safer than I was there; moreover he said I must be very quick in going, for the Indians would be up after me, and it would not be possible for me to get away from them. I immediately went on ten miles, which I was two hours in going, being very faint and tired, and my feet run with blood. The first house I came to was a Mr. M'Cormics. My appearance at this time, may be supposed to be dismal—without clothing—almost starved—my beard and hair long and frightful. When I came to the door and knocked, he bid me come in, and when he saw me in that frightful situation, he was almost at his wits end, and

cried out, where the devil did you come from? I told him I came out of an Indian country; he asked me, what the devil brought you there? I answered it was my misfortune to get among them; he replied that there was a great many rascals whom he would be glad to have slaves to the Indians all their days. I thought then I might as well have staid among the Indians, as to have risked my life thus far, and be so treated. I then asked him if he knew any white people that lived near by; he said I would find them down the river. I thought to myself it would be far safer for me to keep round by the lake to Detroit, and not be seen any more, as I could not tell a friend from a foe.

When I had gone on about half a mile down the river, walking along very slowly, and thinking to myself how I should get by some Indian towns undiscovered, that were on the way, I met a man by the name of Thomas Smith, an Indian storekeeper; and as soon as he saw me he asked me which way I was traveling; I made answer where I could get quarters, though he knew from my appearance that I had made my escape from the Indians; he next inquired how far I had come; I told him from the Maumee town, which was one hundred and thirty-five miles from the camp. He asked me if I had any provisions? I told him it was the fifth day since I had eat anything but nuts; he invited me into his house and said he would help me to some, which I received very kindly; for truly he was the first friend I had found on the way. When I went in he gave me some victuals to eat, but I was so faint that a very little served me. I had not been there more than an hour before the savages came in pursuit of me, and began to enquire after me; but Mr. Smith put me up in his chamber, and kept me hid there until his boat came from Detroit, when he put me on board and sent me on my way thither. But on our way we had two or three Indian towns to pass by, and the savages were apprised of my running away, for they had the description of me by the dress I had on, when I came from them; but the boat men gave me other clothes to put on, so that my garb appeared like that of a Frenchman; so I passed by undis-

covered, although we lay wind bound in an Indian town for some days.

When I arrived at Detroit (April 30, 1793), I flattered myself I was secure from any further insult from the savages; expecting the English garrison would protect poor captives, that fled to them for protection; and that if I was retaken, humanity would plead for me, in case it was called into question, supposing the English people deserved the character of being humane. Upon these principles, I took the liberty of walking the streets of that place, seeking for employ, that might enable me to procure some clothing, being almost naked; but I was very soon convinced that I had placed confidence in a people that were not deserving of it, and that by being too credulous, had imposed on myself. I had been there about three weeks before I could believe my own eyes. Within that term of time I had seen many Indians that frequented that place, and could not but admire how a few days after I was thoroughly convinced, by seeing them bring into the English garrison the scalps of men, women and children, for which the English would give them a large reward, and encourage them to practice their cruelties upon the Americans. They let them have fire arms, ammunition and provisions, and also ardent spirits, to stimulate them to action; at the idea of which humanity must revolt.

As I was walking the streets in the after part of a day on which some savages had come to town with their scalps and treasure, which had been taken from the Americans, feeling very melancholy, and not observing the Indian faces so critically as I ought to have done, my mind being much enervated by the frequent disappointments which I had met with, I was met by two savages that knew me, and said that I had run away from my master, and therefore took me prisoner, and were immediately going to carry me back to Maumee town. None can conceive the perturbation of mind which I experienced at that unlucky meeting, but those who have been in a similar situation. My pen or imagination would fall infinitely short of a just description; for the cruel savages, eager to begin their torture, and thirsting for American blood, with their uplifted tomahawks, crying for

vengeance, could hardly be restrained from putting a period to my life instantly. I begged of them to spare my life a little while longer, and asked them if they would not ransom me in case I would procure them the money. They seemed more pacified, and accordingly were persuaded to go with me a small distance, to one Thomas Smith, an Indian trader, whom I was acquainted with (being the person that favored my escape from the Indians, by sending me to Detroit not long before, and whose name will ever be precious to my memory), and when we came to Mr. Smith, I informed him how my circumstances were, and that unless he would befriend me I should be miserable, lost, and undone, being threatened with instant death; but in case the Indians deferred it until they carried me to my master, it would be still worse with me, for then they would scalp and burn me at the stake. He being well acquainted with the Indians, said he doubted not one word of it. I then made the most solemn promise to bind myself a servant to him till I had repaid him for his kindness, provided he would redeem me from these savage brutes. Mr. Smith being now moved with compassion, began to barter with the Indians for my ransom, while I stood trembling for fear of an unfavorable issue. I understood so much of the Indian language as to be able to learn that they held me at a great price and was ready to sink into the dust for fear Mr. Smith would not give it. At length a bargain was completed, and one hundred and twenty dollars was the price. Mr. Smith paid it, and the Indians gave him a bill of me, and departed. Language is too poor to express the gratitude which I felt towards my kind deliverer, who could have no other motive in my deliverance than the love he cherished in his tender bosom for his fellow men, when suffering. My heart must cease to beat within my breast, before I can forget that worthy gentleman.

Again I was freed from immediate death, and a bound servant to the best of masters; but in a strange country, amongst strangers and only that one friend; naked and hungry, and a great ransom to pay. All these circumstances considered, it was but a gloomy prospect. A person at ease could not enumerate the obstacles I had to surmount, to

NARRATIVE OF MATTHEW BUNN.

again my liberty.—When life is compared with wealth, the former preponderates; to rate the estimate, none are competent, but those who have undergone the trial; for when men's interest is at stake, and life in no danger, they think the object great; but when life is at stake, it will command the interest to redeem it, which will be given up with all imaginable pleasure. But my case was worse than either, for my life was at stake, and I had no interest to redeem it: and had it not been for my kind benefactor, I had soon been numbered with the dead.

After I was liberated, I went directly to work under the direction of Mr. Smith, improving every moment of the time very industriously, earning a little here and a little there, till I was taken sick with the fever and ague, to which the inhabitants of that place are subject, especially new comers. My constitution being almost ruined, from the hardships I endured while an Indian captive, the fever ran exceedingly high, and for some time entirely laid me up. My spirits were very low, almost despairing of recovery. Being destitute of clothing, the cold fits which preceded the hot, would almost force me to the fire; and having no person to assist me, nor speak one consoling word, I was almost driven to despair, but in the intermission of my fits, would consider better of it, knowing the obligation I was under to Mr. Smith, and viewing the many difficulties I had encountered and surmounted, was encouraged; and considering likewise that it was doing injustice to myself and my friend Mr. Smith, to give up. The feelings I had for my kind deliverer wrought a greater effect on my mind than my own case; with patience and perseverance I conquered my difficulties, and again went to my labor and continued so to do for nearly a space of two years; in which time I had almost earned a sum sufficient to have paid my ransom; and had it not been for an unlucky accident taking place in a very short time, should have completed my deliverance. But my sufferings were not at an end in so short a space of time, being again involved in trouble and difficulty, not with the Indians, as before, but with British tyrants, that heartless savages without the fear of God could only equal.

About Christmas I went out to the river Letrench,* to clear land for a Mr. Samuel Choat (a hatter by trade), about eighty miles distant from Detroit, and after laboring there about two months and a half, being one day at the raising of a barn for one Henry Boochford, I tarried till evening, and a company of jovial lads got together, some of them Americans, who came there with the idea of taking the oath of allegiance to George the III. and by that means be permitted to take up new lands. We all being merry with liquor, began to drink healths. One of my countrymen drank a health to the king, and damnation to Washington, in order to ingratiate himself into the favor of his Majesty's subjects, and demonstrate his loyalty to the crown of England, as I supposed. I was moved by the insult, and to retaliate, drank a health to Washington and damnation to the king. Henry Boochford immediately accosted me thus, do you damn the king? Supposing him to be in a merry humor, and not in earnest, I repeated my words. He again said, what, do you damn King George? I replied I did, for what was the king to me? He still insisted on whether I damn'd the king. I thought him too much of a critic and gave him to understand me so; telling him he busied himself with that which he had no immediate concern with. One word brought on another; being a little exasperated, and feeling as much for my insulted Washington, as he did for his king, I inconsiderately repeated my words, and more by saying that I damn'd the king and all the royal family, and all such fellows as he was, who took their part. By this time our debates were exceedingly warm, and continued so for some time; at length the dispute subsided, and I expected a good night's rest would have settled the matter; but it did not prove to be the case; it only lay dormant a few days, not extinct, as I expected; for not long after, I was visited by a civil officer, with a warrant to apprehend me, which he did, and informed me that I was indicted for high treason. He then carried me to prison, and put irons on my hands and feet, saying that

* Letrench, *i. e.*, La Tranche, the early French name of the River Thames, in Canada. Eighty miles from Detroit on this river brings the scene of Bunn's adventure not far from Newbury, some twenty-five miles southwest of St. Thomas.

I must lie in that condition till the sitting of the next sessions, then to be tried for high treason, and punished as the law directed in such cases, which was nothing short of death.

At hearing this, a dark gloom pervaded all future prospect of my deliverance. Thus confined in a strong prison in irons, and in that cruel condition to remain till next sessions, which was to sit in about ten weeks, and then to be tried, condemned, and executed, was awful, indeed, too shocking for human nature to contemplate. I began to wish the Indians had prevented this, which they would have done instantly, had I resisted them when they met me walking in the streets of Detroit. My sufferings were augmented by the fever and ague, which so enfeebled me that I was not able to walk the prison floor without the aid of some of the soldiers, I was almost destitute of clothing, having barely sufficient to cover my body. My lodgings were equally as poor, only one old ragged blanket to wrap round me; indeed my clothing, lodging and boarding were all of a piece, for one pound of bread, and that exceedingly poor, was my daily allowance.

At length the time of my trial came on, and being called to the bar and questioned respecting the crime alledged against me, I plead not guilty. The court then proceeded in the business, but the charge could not be supported against me, as I had not taken the oath of allegiance to the king, and could not be considered as one of his subjects. Therefore I was to be banished from that place instead of being hanged—a happy turn in my favor, (tho't I), expecting to be sent to the United States. But they took care to prevent that; and to be sure of me (expecting the American army were coming the ensuing summer to Detroit) sent me down the country, about 350 miles to Niagara, in order to send me from thence the first good opportunity to Quebec, there to be put on board a man of War. On my arrival at Niagara I was taken from the vessel and carried before the governor of that place,* and there I underwent another close examination respecting my damning the king, and every circumstance

* John Graves Simcoe was lieutenant governor of Upper Canada at this time, and spent a portion of the summer of 1794 at Niagara, although York, now Toronto, had then been fixed upon as the site of the provincial capital.

concerning my situation at that time, so that he might have it in his power to prevent and cross me in my greatest expectations. After he had made an end of his enquiries, he informed me that I was destined for Quebec, there to be put on board a ship of war. On hearing this I stood amazed!—At length I roused from my lethergy and on my knees before the governor, did most earnestly solicit him to send me to my own country, and I should be happy; but he refused—saying that what I had been guilty of gave them the undoubted liberty of disposing of me as they pleased. He then sent me from his presence to feed upon my disappointments.

While I was meditating upon my penurious circumstances, Captain David Shanks,* an officer on the regiment called the Queen's Rangers, came to me and asked me how I should like a soldier's life? I replied, not at all, for I had suffered too much from it already, and only wished to see home. He told me it was by no means likely that I should see home very suddenly, and that I had better enlist a soldier under him; if I would consent, he would speak to the governor, and prevent my being immediately sent off to Quebec; if I refused to Quebec I must go—and that in a short time. I replied that the conditions were exceedingly hard, much worse than I could have expected from any christian people; especially by a people who were bound by friendship and alliance to alleviate the sufferings of unfortunate Americans. From duty I was sure I was not bound to serve them and what I already suffered at their hands was not from any demerit of mine.

* When Lt. Col. Simcoe came to Upper Canada to become its first Governor, in 1792, Capt. David Shank closely followed with a portion of Simcoe's old regiment, the Queen's Rangers. That famous regiment, originally organized in Connecticut and near New York by Col. Robert Rogers, was under Simcoe's command during the Revolutionary campaigns of 1778-'81, and was included in the troops surrendered by Cornwallis. Simcoe returned to England. That there was a reorganization of the Rangers, is evident from the fact that a troop bearing the name of his old regiment followed him to Upper Canada. There are many allusions to Captain Shank in Simcoe's "Journal," chiefly in connection with operations around Yorktown and Williamsburg, Va., 1781, where he is spoken of as in command of "the cavalry of the Queen's Rangers." "This Captain Shank was the same Captain Shank who afterwards, during Lieut. Col. Simcoe's reign as Governor of Upper Canada, settled at York (Toronto), and acquired there a large tract of land in what is now the western part of the city, in the vicinity of Bathurst Street." (Read's "Life and Times of Gen. John Graves Simcoe," p. 105.) In the Archives at Ottawa is a letter from David Shank, "Major-Captain Queen's Rangers commanding," dated "Navy Hall (Niagara), 29th August, 1796." This, as well as Bunn's statement, would indicate that a portion of the Queen's Rangers were quartered on the west side of the river, others being in garrison at Fort Niagara.

However the Captain soon convinced me that standing out would avail me nothing; it was the governor's will, not mine, that would determine the matter, and that I must be sent where the governor thought best; he gave me till night to consider upon it, and then to give him an answer. I weighed every circumstance, as well as a poor broken hearted suffering mortal could in such a situation, and determined to enlist; for peradventure an opportunity might present, which I was ready to embrace, be it sooner or later whereby I could desert the army and go to my friends, whom I longed to see to excess.—But if I was put on board of ship, all hopes of escape would be at an end. This my resolution I put in force immediately, by enlisting under Captain Shanks, in the Queen's Rangers, on the 4th of June, 1794.

I was immediately sent from thence about 120 miles around the lake to where the rest of the regiment lay.* There I was sick with the ague-fits for some time, but obliged to attend exercise, that they might make me expert in the use of the firelock. I continued there until some time in August, all the while very discontented and much disheartened. As my intention was to desert from the British tyrants, the means by which to effect my flight were my constant study. My countenance plainly demonstrated my uneasiness, and doubtless the officer who enlisted me could easily guess my designs. No artifice could hide my uneasiness, for it was obvious from my discourse to the officer at the time of my enlisting, with which my conduct from day to day corresponded, that it was my intention to desert them the first favorable opportunity.

So matters went on for some time, watching and being watched, till the time arrived which I had been so long looking for. But contrary to my expectations, instead of extricating myself from those barbarous despots, I became doubly involved, and my sufferings augmented to such a degree, that my spirit came nearer deserting my body than my body did deserting the tyrants; the particulars of which I am now going to relate.

* Toronto, though the distance is overstated, but not so wildly as is presently the case in the narrative, which puts Kingston "at least 400 miles" from Toronto!

Previous to my setting off, I had frequently conversed with many of the soldiers whom I knew to be my friends (and in the same predicament with myself) on the subject of deserting. They were as fond of it as I was, but were afraid of the consequences. They said they were utter strangers to the way thro' the woods which we must pass; besides it was morally impossible to avoid being taken up by the savages, who were as thick in the woods as musquitoes.

At length one Samuel Soper, a lad about 19 years of age, a new recruit, and who had lately joined the regiment, appeared extremely anxious to desert; saying he knew the way perfectly well to the American frontiers. We immediately agreed to set out the next evening, and for that purpose were to meet on the parade ground after roll-call.

Now the army was so situated, that there were two ways by which we might make our escape. As we lay on the side of the lake, we might go around the east end, by way of Kingston. That looked very tedious, for the distance was at least 400 miles, and we were in a miserable condition to undertake so long a journey through the wilderness, having no provisions to carry with us. But my companion insisted upon going that way, saying he was acquainted with many of the inhabitants; besides he had some relations on the road, would help us to provisions, which I conceived we should be very much in want of. Notwithstanding the other way was much the nearest, yet there were insurmountable difficulties to encounter, such as a number of garrisons to pass; and we must likewise expect to find the woods lined with savages, and of course be taken up before we could perform half our journey. I must confess I wished to avoid the red savages, having had sufficient experience of their barbarity; not that there was much difference in morals, manners, and practice, between the white savages to whom I was then a slave, and the red savages from whom I had so lately made my escape. To avoid the fetters of both was my determination.

According to our agreement, we met upon the parade, it being about nine o'clock at night, and set off towards the

town, to procure a birch canoe to carry us round the lake, supposing that would be the best way, and the least guarded. We had not left the parade many minutes before we were missed, being continually watched. The whole regiment was mustered in quest of us, and depend upon it, we were as much alarmed as they were. We durst not travel in the road, but kept about seven or eight rods distant from the shore of the lake. We had not traveled far before we discovered two parties in quest of us, one in boats, the other followed the road to town.—It being very dark, which was much in our favor, we concluded to approach nearer to the shore of the lake, knowing that we stood as good a chance of discovering them as they did of discovering us; accordingly we leaped down the bank which was almost perpendicular to the shore, and made a stand to see if we could discover anybody. Immediately we discovered two persons walking towards us; we lay still as though we were inanimate. It being very dark, they did not discover us, to our great joy.

After they had passed us, we secreted ourselves among some floodwood, for there was no chance of running without being discovered by our enemies, as they passed so near us as to come close to our heads. When all was still we ascended the bank, and made for the road again; but just as we got there, we heard somebody coming, and soon saw a guard of eight or ten men, who passed without discovering us; had we been one minute sooner, we must have been taken; but our time was not come. We returned again to the bushes, and lay there trembling till the coast seemed clear; we then rose and walked about a mile into the woods, where we lay until morning. Supposing ourselves not safe, we went into a very thick swamp, and lay there all day. Evening being come we very cautiously approached the town about midnight, and luckily found a bark canoe which we carried to the lake, embarked, crossed a large bay about four miles, and landed upon an island. The wind springing up and blowing fresh soon after our landing, we dared not venture any farther at that time. Next day, about ten o'clock, the wind abated; and about that time my comrade began to

think about something to eat. I told him I thought the risk was too great; and that if he went, I should take the boat, proceed on, and leave him to abide the consequences. He then gave over, and we went immediately into the boat, making what haste we could. About noon we arrived at a large pond, and my comrade insisted on going ashore to get some provisions, saying he could not live any longer unless he obtained some; he grieved very much that I was unwilling to go ashore, and was sorry he ever set out, having a great mind to return and surrender himself up; I soon convinced him of his error, telling him that he should never leave my sight and live.

We now continued our route night and day, as often as circumstances would permit. Sometimes the wind would blow so fresh that we dared not proceed. Sometimes one thing, and sometimes another, would interfere, so that in four days we gained but seventy miles. We at length came to where there were some inhabitants, of whom we got green corn to refresh ourselves, which we really stood in need of, and which put new spirits into my comrade. On the fourth day, just at night, the wind blew exceedingly hard, so that we were obliged to run our canoe into a small creek to prevent her being dashed to pieces; and on going a few rods up the creek, we discovered a family who had lately moved from the States, and halted there to look at the land.

Now about four days previous to our deserting, one John Brownrick who deserted from the same regiment, went down that way, and got among the inhabitants. They mistrusting that he was a deserter, sent word to the regiment that there was such a person with them; upon which a corporal and ten men were dispatched to conduct him back. They arrived there about an hour after sunset that evening, at which time they* had all three got together, as ill-luck would have it, going down the lake for the purpose of embarking on board our canoe, and proceeding on our journey. Just as we were going on board, a part of the guard appeared in sight; the remainder went round a pond which was behind us, and so encompassed us that all hopes of escaping were at an end.

* He means "we."

When we first saw them we were instantly going on board our canoe not mistrusting who they were, nor what was their errand, when I saw a man a few rods from us, coming towards us with his arms folded up, whom I took to be of the camp we had just passed through. I told my comrades to look around, and turning to look myself, we soon learned the truth to our sorrow; for the person whom we first saw, coming up to us with a pistol in each hand, presented them at our breasts, saying we were his prisoners;—he at the same time set up a loud halloo, which was answered by a number of soldiers, coming to his assistance from behind us.

Imagine our surprise at finding ourselves taken,—O Heavens! thought I, what more have I to suffer from these merciless tyrants? it is impossible that I can endure the disappointment. But alas! there was no withstanding their ferocity—no time to think seriously. Driven to the alternative of returning or dying on the spot: there were ten against three—they had arms—we had none—the odds forbade a dispute. They threatened us with immediate death in case of resistance, bound us most inhumanly, and dragged us up the bank of the lake. Not contented with the inhumanity of their treatment to us, at the time they captured us, they opened our wounds afresh by threats and blows. They made us lie on the ground all night, suffering exceedingly from the tightness of the cords with which they bound our hands and feet. In the morning we were most inhumanly dragged into the boat, which immediately set off for Head-Quarters. About the middle of the day, the wind blowing fresh, they were obliged to put on shore with the boat and lay there until the next day. They still kept us bound, diverting themselves with our condition, and telling us of the miseries we must expect to endure on our return to the regiment; all which made a deep impression on my mind, being well acquainted with the manners and customs of the English and Indians, and their hatred to the Americans. Indeed I had no reason to expect anything better than what they told me I should suffer.

After lying all night on the wet sand, being all three bound fast together, we were the next morning dragged into

the boat as before, and again set out for the regiment. We had not gone far before the wind died away, that we were obliged to take to our oars.—There being but five of them that went with us in the boat, they wanted some of our assistance in rowing, and proposed to liberate us, provided we would row. Thinking it would be much easier than to lay there bound in the manner we were, we agreed to the proposal; they unbound us, and we applied ourselves smartly to the oars. We rowed about three miles, our minds all the while engaged in forming plans to prevent our being carried back to the regiment. We at length slightly made signs to rise against the boat's crew, and take the boat to ourselves. We were disadvantageously situated in the boat to begin the attack, John Brownrick rowed with the after, Samuel Soper the middle, and myself the forward oar in the boat. The sail being betwixt me and my coadjutors, prevented me from observing the critical moment when the mutiny began. All the firearms were in the bow of the boat where I was, except one musket which lay close to Brownrick. When the moment arrived which Brownrick conceived to be the most favorable for our purpose, he took the gun that lay by him, and presented it to the breast of the man who steered the boat, threatening him with instant death in case of resistance from him, or any other man of the company. Brownrick then snapped the gun at him, but it missed fire, which circumstance so emboldened our enemies that they commenced a smart defence; one of them making a stroke at Brownrick with his oar, so timely and so well directed, that he was knocked down senseless, and lay in that condition, for some time, which prevented his assisting us any more. The sail had prevented my seeing Brownrick's motions; his threats to the man at the helm, the snapping of the gun, and the sound of the paddle on his head, were almost instantaneous, following each other in quick succession, and were the first notice I had of the matter. I immediately flew to the arms in order to secure them, and called to Soper to exert himself in support of our cause.—Soper thinking the combat unequal, five against two, stepped into the bow of the boat, and took up a pistol which lay there. One of the boat crew then

advanced toward me, to prevent my using the gun I had taken in my hands; as soon as he came within my reach, I struck him on the head with the breech of my gun, which knocked him down; the blow fractured his skull, and he lay for some time apparently lifeless. As I was a going to repeat the experiment on my next opposer, I was pushed down in the bottom of the boat by a man standing behind me, which prevented my stroke; and before I could rise again I was struck over the head with the barrel of the gun, which I broke when I knocked down the man I first attacked. Soper cocked his pistol, and presented it at the head of my antagonist, but instead of firing the pistol, as he ought to have done, he cried out for mercy in the most moving terms, declaring that he had no hand in the mutiny, leaving me to support the cause alone against four rugged opposers.—Knowing that farther opposition would be useless, I submitted myself a prisoner.

The boat's crew being exceedingly exasperated against me, to satisfy their revenge, struck me on the head most furiously with the pistol, which effectually put an end to all resistance on my part. After I came a little to myself, they ordered me to sit down in the bottom of the boat, which I did with great submission. They repeated the strokes on my head with a pistol, till I was prostrated in the bottom of the boat; they jumped on my breast, and threatened me with their malignance, till Soper and Brownrick were bound fast. They then bound me most inhumanly, and afterwards bound us all three together, and threw us into the bottom of the boat, in about four inches of water. We lay in that condition from seven o'clock in the morning till we arrived where the regiment was, which was ten o'clock in the evening.

All this time we spent in silent meditation: hardly one word escaped us, as we had nothing of a very consolatory nature to say to each other. For my own part, I wished that death would interfere, & foreclose the expected event: as living in such misery was equal to the ignominious death we expected shortly to suffer. Either of the crimes we had been guilty of demanded our lives. From friendship we had nothing to expect; money we had none; the result must

therefore be death. On our arrival at our place of destination some parts of the boat's crew went on shore, and gave the officers an account of what had transpired from the time of their departure in search of us, to their return. They immediately sent a guard of a corporal and five men to take charge of us, who dragged us from the boat to the shore, as they would have done had we been dead, showing us no mercy. We lay all night under guard, on the cold ground, wet to the skin, without anything to eat or drink. In the morning we were unbound, escorted from thence by a strong guard to a loathsome prison, and ironed hand and foot. We begged for some provisions, but they told us we deserved none; and when we urged the necessity of having some, saying we must eat or starve, we were answered that starving was just what we merited, and that our lives would soon make atonement for our crimes. However, not long after, we drew the prisoner's allowance, bread and water, and that very sparingly dealt out to us. Poor suffering mortals, thought I, thus entangled and no hopes of any escape; no friend to pity or speak one consoling word to us; but hundreds on the other hand, echoing to us death and ignominy. We were kept in irons fifteen days, and then sent down to Niagara for trial. On our arrival at that place, a court martial was summoned, before whom we were brought, and our crimes read to us, which were desertion and mutiny. Brownrick, being an old soldier and an old offender, knew the martial law better than I did, and objected to our accusations; saying it was not consonant to law, to try a soldier for two crimes of equal magnitude, at one and the same time. The chairman consulted the rest of the court martial on the subject, and at length agreed to expunge one of the charges exhibited against us. Mutiny was accordingly erased from the black account. We were then ordered back to the guard house, and the court proceeded in the business till they had completed it. We were then ordered into court to hear sentence read, which was that Brownrick and myself were next day to receive a thousand lashes each, Soper but 800, in consequence of his tender years; which favor towards Soper I thought was quite unnecessary, expecting that neither of us

would be able to survive more than five or six hundred lashes: and what they did to us after we were dead was of no consequence.

The next day the regiment received orders to parade at one o'clock in the afternoon. Soper all this while was in the greatest agony imaginable, crying and begging for mercy, wringing his hands, pleading that his tender years and inexperience ought to exempt him from punishment, and alleging that I was the sole cause of his deserting, by which means he had incurred the displeasure of the officers, whom he always loved, and subjected himself to an infamous punishment. The officers considering his story very plausible, and knowing that when I enlisted that it was much against my inclination, seemed inclined to believe all Soper said against me. I reminded the officers that I was American born; that it was impossible for me to forget my country and my parents; that I was not to blame for coming among them, fortune had directed me there; and had fortune favored my escape, I should have been rid of their persecutions, which was worth trying for. I owned that I had enlisted, but not voluntarily; it was choosing the least of two evils. The officers heard what they pleased of my harangue, paying but little attention during the whole of it.

At one o'clock the regiment paraded, agreeably to the orders, and we were brought forth to receive our punishment. Brownrick being the eldest of the three, was ordered to be flogged first. He was accordingly tied up, received his punishment, and made out to live through it. My turn came next. I bade the world and all my friends adieu, not having the least expectation to survive the awful trial. They tied me up and gave me five hundred lashes. The Doctor standing by, ordered me to be released, telling them that I could not endure any more at that time. I was accordingly taken down but could not stand.—They informed me that on a future day, when I should be able, I must expect to receive the remainder of my allotted punishment. Soper, who had stood by and seen the punishment inflicted upon us, almost stupified with grief, expected to be instantly bound with the cords from which I had just been released, and receive the

reward of his desertion ; but his cadaverous appearance so moved the tender feelings of the officers, that upon his humbly begging pardon upon his bended knees, and solemnly promising strict obedience for the future, they accordingly pardoned him.*

Brownrick and myself were then carried to the hospital, and put under the Doctor's care, there to remain till I should either die or recover. I must confess I prayed for death, thinking that it could be at no great distance, and hoping that it would come like a friend to relieve me from pain. The Doctor attended us very assiduously, and a few hours after the first dressing of my back, I began to be sensible of what had happened to me ; for on cleansing my wounds, and removing the coagulated blood and mangled flesh (being so cut to pieces that my bowels were almost visable to the naked eye), I felt the most excruciating pains, which were increased by an inflammation that began to prevail, in spite of all the Doctor's efforts to prevent it. I continued in this situation about nine days, all of which time I lay on my face, without a moment's sleep. My wounded back then began a gentle suppuration, the pain and inflammation moderated, and the Doctor began to be encouraged, telling me with a smile that he believed I might recover ; which was more than he expected two days before, as he expected that the inflammation would terminate in a gangrene. At first I was much elevated, but then considering that I had received but half my punishment, and that returning health would bring with it the other half, my spirits were again depressed. But God, whose wisdom exceeds all wisdom, and whose ways are past finding out, did through his infinite mercy support me in the hour of my afflictions, and by his mighty power extricate me from impending misery, which none else could have done. Blessed be his name.

About three weeks after the inflammation began to abate ; pieces of flesh as large as an egg peeled off my back in many places ; after which my wounds began to heal, so that in a short time I was able to walk without much difficulty.

* Although the narrative is not explicit, the probabilities are that Bunn and Brownrick were flogged on the parade-ground at Fort Niagara—on soil which at that time belonged by treaty to the United States, but from which the British did not retire for two years more.

About three months after, the regiment had orders to remove to Toronto, being several days journey, which was to be performed by water; and on the day appointed for the embarkation, the troops went on board the boats, about sixteen in each boat, and I was on board with them. My back was so sore that I could bear no clothing on me, except a shirt and a blanket, which I wrapped round my shoulders. Soon after we set sail for Toronto, a cold storm of wind and rain came on; and notwithstanding my situation, I was obliged to endure it with no more covering than my blanket, and that a poor one. The boat's crew being very peevish, paid no more attention to me than they would have done had I been as rugged as one of them; so that from their inhumanity, and the inclemency of the weather, I suffered amazingly. On our arrival at Toronto, I was ordered on shore, and from thence to the guard house, where I was visited by the Doctor, till such time as my back was almost well, being four months from the time I was punished. Soon after the Doctor had dismissed me, I was informed that the time was drawing nigh when I was to receive the remainder of my punishment, and desired to prepare myself to receive it. I told them that I could not undergo the operation and live; they told me that was my look-out, and left me to consider of it. After a short pause, I came to the resolution of murdering myself, preferring an instant death to a lingering one; but upon a second thought, my senses revolted, fearing the awful consequences of appearing before an offended Deity with the crime of self-murder to answer for. In the meantime, while I was meditating on my present circumstances, I was notified to make myself ready against the next day, to receive the remainder of my punishment. O, my dear friends and countrymen, think on my deplorable circumstances. Father of mercies, lend me your aid to endure what is inflicted upon me, and sanctify it to my everlasting good. After giving vent to a flood of tears, my convulsed breast became more resigned to my fate, supposing my time to be short in this transitory world, and a life of endless duration soon to commence. So great were my expectations for changing this world for a better, that I could have been

willing to taste instantly the bitter cup of death, and to resign my poor afflicted soul into the hands of God who gave it to me, and my body to the dust from whence it was taken. All thoughts of suicide vanished, and I became more resigned to my fate; I only wished for presence of mind, fortitude and perseverance, till I had finished my course. The time at length arrived for me to prove my resolution; the regiment paraded, and a guard came to escort me to the place of punishment; after I came there, I thought it my duty to plead with the officer to spare my life, which he did. The officer seemed to hearken to my prayer, and examined me with great circumspection, respecting my damning the King, and what were my motives in doing it, and the reason why I deserted, and after I was taken, how I dared to have a recourse to mutiny; and farther, who were my accomplices. I informed him with great submission, saying, I was as much to blame as either of the others, and no more, notwithstanding Soper's evidence against me; for we would have all gone clear if we could, which was evident from our rising against the boat's crew, notwithstanding our inferiority in numbers: but what was done could not be recalled, and if I could be forgiven, I would in future behave myself in all respects as a good and faithful soldier. Upon the reception of my confession, the officer put his hand into his pocket and took out my pardon, which was from the governor, and read it to me, which so moved my feelings of gratitude to God, in mercy to me, that I behaved more like an idiot than a man of sense. I hopped and skipped about the circle of soldiers that had encompassed me for punishment, thanking heaven for my kind deliverance from the immediate jaws of death.

The officers appeared not a little pleased, supposing they had conquered me with judgment mingled with mercy. I was then ordered to join the regiment, accordingly I did, and there I soon learned the reason of the abatement of the remainder of my punishment. It was Soper's conduct that gave rise to it; for he at the time of our trial accused me of being the sole cause of his desertion, and consequently promoted the mutiny, to which he declared he was not an accessory, and the part which he acted was not on account of the

circumstances of the case in which he was so suddenly involved, and in evidence of the turpitude, he said he laid hand on no person, and the taking up the pistol and presenting it as he did, was done through confusion of mind, witnessing that at the instant in which he presented the pistol at the soldier's head, he cried out for mercy, and declared himself innocent of the rising; and on these circumstances, at the time when I received my punishment, Soper received his pardon, and orders to join the regiment, which he did immediately. A short time after, this honest, innocent Soper deserted them; they pursued him, but to no purpose; he effected his escape; a happy circumstance for me, for the officers were by that convinced Soper was an imposter, and that I was in a great measure right in what I related to the conduct of his conduct, at the time we deserted together, and afterwards; therefore discharged me from the remainder of my intended punishment! My captain was humane, and I suppose a good advocate in my favor; he never seemed to take any delight in the punishment of a soldier, nor I believe ever encouraged the soldiers in complaining of one another, but would chide them smartly when they came to him with complaints, telling them that half to the complainant was just, where punishment was to be inflicted, as it was when interest was to be accumulated by it; but I must confess the officers had it not in their power to do justice to the soldiers at all times, for it was impossible for them to know the right of the case, the soldiers were so combined together. I believe there scarcely ever was a more vicious set of mortals collected from the four corners of the globe. They consisted of refugee English, Scotch, Irish, Dutch, and American cow-boys, except some poor American captives which were purchased of the Indians, and by some artful means forced into their army. Indeed an honest soldier could as well live in the fire as to live with them: for if he would not do as they would have him, they would tell him they could easily put him out of their way. They frequently sent off parties in boats on duty, to some place where they wanted provisions collected, or forage, with an orderly officer to oversee them; and if the officer was not quite agreeable to them, when on

shore, they would purposely knock him overboard, row off, and leave him to drown; and when they returned, the officer would inquire into the matter, but to no purpose; for the boat's crew would swear, one and all, that the deceased fell overboard by mere accident, and the circumstances were such at that present time, that it was out of their power to save him, and matters were obliged to pass off.

After I had been in the regiment a few weeks, and had recovered my strength in some measure, one day my captain came to me, and asked me if I should like to go a little distance from the army and go to work clearing land. I told him it would be perfectly agreeable if I could have company; accordingly I chose on Thomas Kenning, a native of old Hartford, and off we set, built us a hut according to our captain's directions, and went to work. Now I was considerably indebted to my captain, for when I was sick he provided me with a nurse, and would advance money for me when I wanted necessaries; and gratitude forbade my not serving him. But after we had labored there till the ensuing April, we concluded we had done sufficient to discharge our arrearages, therefore under no obligation to king or captain; and if we stayed any longer we should work no more money into our pockets, and concluded to set off the first good opportunity; accordingly we packed up our duds, and about three days' provisions that we had in camp with us, and on the 27th day of April, at evening, we set off, hope and fear constantly alternating, watching and praying for our personal safety, and marched on to the shore to find a canoe, for by water we must go, and the Indians must find us a canoe. After we came to the shore, we traveled on about two miles, and found a canoe; but the Indians were asleep hard by it, indeed so near were they we thought it impracticable to steal it; but we could find no other, and something must immediately be done, as we soon should be missed, and the Indians likely would awake—we agreed to try our skill, went softly as possible to the canoe, took it up, and returned back undiscovered, then launched it into the lake, got into it, and paddled off with all possible speed round the lake, and by daylight we were 16 miles from the regiment; then we

went on shore, and carried our canoe into the bushes, and there we lay concealed until twelve o'clock, and observing nothing moving that would molest us, we set off, and with our paddles almost made our little birch canoe fly; we watched and trembled as we proceeded, keeping close in with the shore, that in case we were chased by boats, we might quit oars, and fly to the woods. After we had got about three miles upon our second set-out, we discovered a large sail boat making after us; we immediately made for the shore, up with our canoe, and retreated to the woods; but the boat passed without discovering us, and made round a point of land; then we had fears that they had discovered us, and were going about three miles round, and then to come upon our backs, and cut us off from the woods. We instantly hid our canoe, took up our packs, and marched into the woods about one mile. there deposited our packs in a thicket of bushes, and went to see if we could discover anything more of the boat, and whether they had landed or not; and when we came where we expected they had landed, we saw them at a good distance, going on their way; then our fears abated, and we returned to our packs, and from thence to our boats, and carried our boat to the water's edge, in order to proceed on; but soon discovering a boat with Indians a small distance ahead of us, we nimbly retired to the bushes, and were not discovered by them. We concluded not to venture round that point of land, but to carry the canoe across it, being about three miles to the lake; accordingly we did so, launched our canoe, and set off for the opposite shore; it had got to be the dusk of the evening, but we supposed we could plainly see the opposite shore, and after we had paddled till the middle of the night, we could not discern any land at all, the wind rising, and soon blew most violently, raising an awful swell, the agitated lake tossing us upon the surface of the water, then down again into the trough of the sea; the next sea would meet us and raise us again, so that we would rise and fall at each alternate swell nearly ten feet, and expected every moment to be swallowed up by the tide. Our boat would often times take in two or three gallons of water, which we instantly baled out with

our canteen, which we had fitted for that purpose, by taking out one of the heads, previous to our attempting to cross. In this awful predicament we remained until about an hour before daylight, when we arrived at the shore, and attempted landing, but met much difficulty in performing the task; the swells ran high, and when I stepped from the canoe I held her fast by one hand; but being chilled by the cold and water, having sat waist-band high in the latter from midnight, I had lost the use of my legs, and the swell, when returning from the shore, would carry me with it ten or twelve feet back into the lake, and when it returned, would drive me with my canoe on the shore again; at length I braced myself, and held her till the swell had gone out, and then instantly dragged her out of the reach of the swells, and then my comrade got out, but could not stand. I fell to chafing him until he began to be warm, and by that time the day began to dawn, which warned us to retire into the woods, for our personal safety. We took up our canoe and carried it into the bushes and hid it, and then went on ourselves till we were far enough from the shore to be out of danger, and then struck a fire, stripped off our wet clothes, dried them, warmed ourselves, eat a few mouthfuls of our provisions, and were not a little pleased to think we had so fortunately escaped thus far from the regiment. After we had sufficiently dried our clothing and rested our weary limbs, we concluded to return to our canoe, carry it to the shore, and proceed; for we had no time to spare; but to be too hasty in our march would be equally dangerous, and we hardly knew when we were too fast or too slow; for our escape depended much on a well-timed march.—When we came to the shore we found the wind had much abated; in a short time it was calm, and the agitated lake much quieted. To our great surprise we found the lake much broader where we crossed the preceeding night, than we expected, for we could not discern the opposite shore from which we came, and afterwards learned it was 24 miles across. We again set off, keeping close in with the land, and went about three miles; then went on shore, the wind again blew fresh, which prevented our going any further till it moderated; we left

our canoe by the shore side, for there was a small village in sight of us, and the land cleared for some distance round it, and if we had carried our boat with us we should have been discovered. We went to the woods, and tarried till the next night, undiscovered by any of the inhabitants; then we returned to our canoe, and found it was beat to pieces by the swells. Now we were in a sad predicament, and determined to retire about ten miles to a neighboring wood, which we did, undiscovered, and placed ourselves in a thicket of brush; there we gave ourselves full liberty to speak, think and consult freely on our circumstances; we had not so much to fear from Indians as we had before, as we were out of their course, besides that we had passed the most formidable part of them; the white people were now most to be feared by us; at length we agreed to follow the lake until we arrived at Niagara, and accordingly set off, and traveled for five days and a half; but meeting with large ponds and impossible swamps that we were obliged to go round, and which led us about ten miles from the lake, which in some measure lost us, concluded we had gone far enough; accordingly shaped our course for the head of the lake, and after we had travelled about ten miles, we arrived at the lake, about eight miles below where we expected; then retired again into the woods, and set ourselves down to rest, in a place where we were secure from all but strolling parties of English and Indians; the Indians were what we most feared, for they always had a large dog with them, and their dogs would be as likely to find us, as to find game, and would not leave us when found, sooner than they would leave a buck. We continued there until dark, interrupted by nothing in reality, though imagination would rouse us; then we marched on very cautiously to the head of the lake, to Niagara, and at a distance from the fort, viewed it, seeing nothing stirring to molest us; our being well acquainted with that place gave us some advantage in securing ourselves; we knew their customs, their travels by night and day, and governed ourselves accordingly. We agreed to take the river Niagara, where it empties into Lake Ontario at Fort Niagara, and follow it, to see if we could not find an Indian canoe to pass

the river; we traveled about six or eight miles, but found nothing to help ourselves; then we returned within sight of the garrison, and observed nothing stirring that would harm us; we shaped our course for the Genesee country, and traveled on till daylight began to dawn; we then retired to a thicket of brush at some distance from the road, and lay there waiting the approach of night with great impatience, our provisions being almost spent, and no means in our power to recruit them, and also exceedingly fatigued with our journey, and weakened for want of the common comforts of life; but the magnitude of our object supplied the place of provisions, and the hopes of our future enjoyments cancelled the past and present hours of adversity. Notwithstanding, our case was urgent, and there was no time to be lost; thus urged on to improve industriously every minute of our time, for we must in case we did not soon complete our undertaking, perish with hunger, or fall a sacrifice to British barbarity.

About twenty-one miles from Niagara, there was a garrison kept by the English called Chippawa (an Indian name) by which we must pass, and from that at the distance of about eighteen miles another garrison, being Fort Erie, the river Niagara passing betwixt that, and the Genesee country, which could be crossed no other way than in ferry boats; so that we had nearly forty miles then to travel before we could arrive at the Genesee country; however, we encouraged each other, and in the dusk of the evening set out with a considerable share of fortitude, and a determined resolution to persevere. The inhabitants being very thick, we were obliged to keep the woods as much as possible; thus we traveled on until we came to the Chippawa garrison; thus we were obliged to take the road, traveling on till at length we met five or six men standing in the road; coming up to them they accosted us, how do you do, gentlemen? We answered them as politely as possible, and without any visible concern; they asked us, where we were bound; I answered, Detroit. Whither do you come from? I answered the States. What parts? I answered, Schenectady. One of them informed me he came from there not long since, and

did I know any of the people of that place? I answered him that I made no particular acquaintance with any person, as my stay there was very short; for soon after my arrival, I took boat and came directly to Detroit; and to prevent any farther inquiry, I bade them all good night, and passed on. We had not gone far before we met three more, who examined us a little. I answered them and moved on, being considerably alarmed expected to be taken up, or that an attempt would be made to take us up, which would be nearly as fatal; but we met with no more interruption until we came near the garrison; then we had to seek for the bridge, which was not far from us; we went on with much caution; at length we discovered the bridge, a centinel placed not far from it, and on the left side of the road, at a small distance, was the garrison; on the right stood a large store-house; we made for the back side of it, and got there unbeknown to the centinel, and when he walked from us we could creep along, and when he came towards us, we lay still, till at length we got on the bridge; then we were discovered, and ran with all speed across the bridge, betaking ourselves to the woods, and traveling about two miles, and there secreted ourselves in the thickest of brush rejoicing at our good fortune in making our escape thus far.* We took a short nap now and then, till night coming on, we set off, following the woods not far distant from the road that led to Fort Erie, till we arrived at the river Niagara, near the fort. We searched very closely for a boat to cross the river, but could find none; then we set off down the Niagara, and traveled about six miles, and

* Writing about 1800, George Heriot, deputy Postmaster General of British North America, said of "Chippawa or Fort Welland": "A wooden bridge is thrown across this stream, over which is the road leading to Fort Erie. The former fort consists only of a large block-house near the bridge, on the northern bank, surrounded by lofty pickets; it is usually the station of a subaltern officer and twenty-five men, who are principally engaged in conducting to Fort Erie the transport of stores for the service of the troops in the upper part of the province, and for the engineer and Indian departments." Heriot's narrative ("Travels through the Canadas," etc., London, 1807) is so impersonal that one cannot fix by it the date of his visit to the Niagara; but as he refers to the year 1800, and as his description of Niagara Falls was published in the *London SW* in 1801, it was probably in that or the preceding year that he was here. The conditions at Chippewa (to use the modern but less correct spelling) when Bunn made his flight across the bridge, were doubtless much like those which Heriot found a few years later.

coming to Col. Powell's* near the river side, we found a large boat which could have carried a dozen or 15 men. We immediately went on board, and set off from the shore; but meeting some ice, we drifted a little way, and landed upon an Island; then one of us went on shore, taking hold of the boat's painter, the other in the boat, with an oar kept her off from the shore, and dragged the boat round the Island; then set off again, and arrived on shore about two hours before daylight, and made our boat fast, then retired to the woods, and sat down securely, and took from our pockets all the provisions we had left, which was only about two ounces of bread a piece; we ate it; and had eighty miles to travel before we could arrive at the Genesee Settlement; but we were much encouraged, not doubting but we should soon arrive among our friends and relations. We again set out, and traveled till we came to a foot path that led from Fort Erie to the Genesee; and for fear of meeting with Indians, we retired some distance from the path, and lay there until about one the next morning; the moon rising, we steered by that, and traveled till daylight, then retired as before; and so lying by in the day, and traveling by night, in two days we arrived at the Genesee, after a tedious travel of ten days in the woods, without any thing to cover us but the heavens, and only three day's provision.

We set out on our journey the twenty-seventh of April, and arrived on the seventh of May, in the year 1795, where we were cordially received by the inhabitants, and most kindly treated.

Perhaps my readers may be desirous to know who my comrade was who came with me, and the place of his abode; his name was Thomas Kenning, a native of Old Hartford, who, being taken by the Indians not long after I was, carried

* On the Canada shore opposite the head of Grand Island. Whether it was across the upper end of that island, or Strawberry, or even Squaw Island, further up stream, that Bunn and his companion made their way, we may be sure that the footpath they presently struck into was the Indian trail leading to the old ferry at the famous "black rock," about a quarter of a mile north of the present ferry landing. Later on this trail became the Guide-board Road, a part of which coincided with Porter Avenue (east of Prospect Avenue) and North Street, to the corner of Main, where they came into the ancient highway that led them to the Genesee.

to the Maumee town, from which place I had but a short time before deserted. The Indians not fancying him, for he did not understand business very well, sold him to an Indian trader for five pounds; the Indian trader sent him to Detroit, to labor, thereby to redeem himself, and it was there I got acquainted with him. Being very intimate, we kept together; and after I had enlisted, to continue in company he also enlisted; and after taking the oath of allegiance we each received our bounty, which was ten guineas. So that from the time of our acquaintance to the present day, is something more than two years and a half. He being a shoemaker, went immediately to work, after our arrival at Genesee; and after I had recovered in some measure from the fatigue which I underwent on our journey, and from the bad state of health which I was in, went to work to get me some clothing and money to bear my expenses home. What I earned, and what the inhabitants kindly bestowed upon me, bro't me safe in Rehoboth, on the first of October, 1795.

I omitted in the first part of this journal, to finish the account of my friend, Mr. Smith, who ransomed me from the Indians. After I was put in prison for damning the king, I was indebted to Mr. Smith, and all probability of his recovering any more of me, was at an end, he expected me to be hanged; but it proved more favorable to me, than he or I expected; some time after I had enlisted, we happened to meet and he seemed very glad that my life was spared; and after some talk he asked me if I was willing to make a settlement with him; accordingly we settled accounts and found a balance due to him of something more than fifteen dollars; he kindly asked me if I could let him have a small part of it, without much injuring myself. I told him I felt a pleasure in helping him, and went directly to a friend that kept my money that I had taken for my bounty, and gave him his pay to a farthing, which pleased him well; he then wished me well, and we parted, and I never saw him afterwards; for soon after, the Indians went to fight General Wayne's army, and a great number of the first characters in Detroit dressed themselves in disguise, and went with them,

to encourage them; and in that action my friend Mr. Smith, was killed, with many other white people of that place.

Morris Doyle (who left the Indians at the same, and who accompanied me, till we quit the canoe) being an old countryman, and not used to the woods, could make no hand in traveling in the night; he soon lost sight of me, returned to the boat, and embarked for he knew not where, but kept on till he arrived at an island in the fork of Glaze* river, and there went on shore, supposing he had made the main land, and set his canoe adrift; but after daylight he too late discovered his mistake; for he was so completely encompassed with water, that he could not get off, without the Indians come & carried him. He walked round the island, to see if anybody appeared, so that he might go off; and about twelve o'clock he observed an Indian coming directly to the island, to hunt; when the Indian was out of sight, Doyle took his canoe and made his escape from the Island to the shore of the river; then making the best of his way down the river five or six miles, but being without provisions, he called at an Indian camp. The Indians at the camp having heard that Doyle had escaped from the Indians up the river, took him into safe keeping, and sent word that he was in their possession. Upon this, they immediately came and took Doyle into custody, and were about to put him to death, when there happened to be an Indian trader present, by the name of Robert Wilson, who bought Doyle for two half joes† and sent him into Detroit. I afterwards saw him at that place, and labored with him a number of days; but having gone out with a party of the King's Surveyors, he broke his leg and died in the woods.

AFFIDAVIT.

STATE OF NEW YORK, }
 ERIE COUNTY. } ss.

I, Matthew Bunn, the author of the above Narrative, am duly sworn, and testify, that the above Narrative is a true

* The Auglaize.

† A joe was a Johannes, a Portuguese coin worth about \$8. Possibly the abbreviation here used was applied to other coins.

statement of the Life and Adventures of the above named Matthew Bunn, and that I am the identical person above named in this Book, and who subscribes his hand and name hersunto.

MATTHEW BUNN.

*Sworn and subscribed before me,
this 30th day of October, 1826.*

MILLARD FILLMORE,
Com'r &c. for Erie County.

PATRIOTIC SONG

ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT—By M. BUNN.

November the fourth, in the year ninety-one,
We had a sore engagement near to Fort Jefferson;
St. Clair was our commander, which may remembered be,
Since we have lost nine hundred men in the western territory.

At Lexington and Quebec, where many a hero fell,
And likewise at Long Island, as I the truth can tell,
For such a horrid carnage my eyes they never see,
As happened on the plains near the river St. Mary.

Our militia were attacked just as the day did break,
But soon were overpowered and forced to retreat;
Then they killed Capt. Oldham, Lament and Briggs likewise,
Such horrid shouts of the savages that sounded thro' the skies.

Young Major Butler was wounded the very second fire,
Whose manly breast did swell with rage, and forced to retire:
Like one distracted he appeared, and thus exclaimed he,—
"Those fiends of hell shall win the field, or revenged I will be.

We had not long engaged when General Butler fell,
He cries, "my boys, I am wounded, pray take me off the field;
My God! he cries, what shall we do, we're murder'd every man,
Go charge my valient heroes, and beat them—if you can."

He turned his back against a tree and there resigned his breath,
And like a valiant hero, sunk in the arms of death:
Ten thousand seraphs did await, his spirit to convey,
And through the bright ethereal they swiftly bent their way.

We made a charge, and gained the ground, which did our fears
abate,
But soon were overpowered, and forced to retreat,
They took from us our cannon, which grieved our hearts full sore,
Such horrid shouts of triumph like hell-hounds they did roar.

We made a charge and gained our guns, we fought like hearts of
steel,
Till many a brave American lay slaughtered o'er the field,
Then they killed Major Ferguson, which caused his men to cry,
Don't be dismayed, says Capt. Ford, we fight until we die.

These words he had scarce uttered, when he received a ball,
And likewise our Lieutenant Spear down by his side did fall,
Stand by your guns, says gallant Ford, for I am not yet slain,
I will lay me down and bleed a while, and rise & fight again.

Says Major Gibson to his men, my boys be not dismayed,
I am sure the Pennsylvanians they never were afraid.
Ten thousand deaths I'd rather die, than they should win the field,
Soon he received a fatal ball, which caused him for to yield.

Our cannon balls were all soon spent, our artillery men were slain,
Our musketry and riflemen a firing did sustain,
Three hours or more we fought them there, and then were forced
to yield,
Whilst three hundred bloody warriors stood hovering round the
field.

Says Major Clark, my heroes bold we can no longer stand,
Therefore we will form in order the best way that we can.
The word retreat sounded around, which raised a hue & cry,
Then helter skelter through the woods, like lost sheep we did fly.

We left our wounded on the field, O heavens! what a stroke,
Some of their thighs were shattered, and some their arms were
broke;
With tomahawks and scalping knives, they robbed them of their
breath,
In fiery flames of torment then tortured them to death.

To mention my brave officers is what I mean to do,
No son of mars ne'er fought more bold, or with more courage true;
To Captain Bradford I belong, of the artillery,
He fell that day among the slain, and a valliant man was he.

There is Kelly and young Anderson, whose names shall be re-
vered;
They fought like brave Americans, but death was their reward.
Full twenty paces in the front they of their men did go,
Their enemy soon marked them out and proved their overthrow.

There is Purdy and young Bates, subalterns of great power,
So boldly they led on their men, three-quarters of an hour,

Till they were slain upon the field, like saints resigned were they,
There Bates smiling said, fight on, while bleeding thus he lay.

Young Major Dark received a ball close by his father's side,
These feeble hands shall be revenged on my son's death he cried,
He quickly drew his sword in hand, and through the ranks he flew,
And like a brave Virginian the savage there he slew.

Of all the men that fell that day, young Major Hart was best;
One pleasing consolation, his soul has gone to rest,
No blooming chief was there to frown, alas, his glass is run,
He has gone to future happiness, and dwells beyond the sun.

The day before our battle fifteen hundred men we had,
But our old gouty general had used us very bad,
He whip't, and hung, and starved his men, in barbarous cruelty,
Thus negro like he did behave, on the western territory.

Come all you brave Americans, lament the loss with me,
It was by bad mismanagement, as you may plainly see,
This is the ending of my song, excuse me if you please,
St. Clair's Defeat it may be called, so praise it at your ease.

THE STORY OF DAVID RAMSAY

TRAPPER, SMUGGLER AND INDIAN SLAYER ON
THE SHORES OF LAKE ERIE AND
THE NIAGARA.

INTRODUCTION.

The story of David Ramsay is in some respects the most remarkable of all the records of adventure in the region of Lake Erie and the Niagara. For its preservation we are indebted to Capt. Patrick Campbell, a Scotchman, who traveled through a part of Canada and Western New York, in the years 1791 and 1792. In March of the latter year, he set out from Fort Niagara for New York, with David Ramsay as guide; and on the way, while stopping at Canawagas (now Avon), Ramsay told to Capt. Campbell the story of his adventures among the Indians. The next year, at Edinburgh, Capt. Campbell published his "Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America," which has long been one of the excessively rare narratives of early travel in America; it is perhaps the rarest of all books of travel relating to the Niagara region, to which it pays much attention. The author made especial study of the advantages which this region, and other sections visited, offered for emigrants from the Highlands, and his book is in a sense a report on that subject; but he was a good observer and a graphic writer; greatly enjoyed hunting, and was entertained by the representative people, wherever he sojourned, one of his hosts—on the Grand River in "Upper Canada"—being Capt. Joseph Brant. He made many good friends at the settlements and garrisons on the Niagara, especially among the British officers at Fort Niagara; and it was there that he fell in with David Ramsay.

This hardy adventurer's story is told in the following pages, as narrated by him to Capt. Campbell, and as written out by the latter. That narrative ends as David is brought captive to Fort Niagara, not by Indians, as so many hundreds were, but by the British, to whose cause he was loyal. Capt. Campbell learned from others that when the Indians heard that David Ramsay was at Fort Niagara, they gathered there in great numbers, and insisted that the British give him up to them; and on the refusal of the Governor—Simcoe—threatened to set fire to the fort. "They became at last so clamorous, that the Governor sent a party, unknown to the Indians, to Montreal with David, where he was fifteen months in prison; and as no proof could be brought against him in a regular trial, and everybody knew he acted in self-defense only, he was liberated. And what is strange, and what the like never was known before, is, that he now lives in intimacy and friendship with that very tribe, and the sons and daughters of the very people he had killed. They gave him a grant, regularly extended upon stamped paper, of four miles square of as good lands as any in Upper Canada." Mr. Campbell continues:

"In the Genesee country, when with me, I saw him write a letter in the Indian tongue, to some chiefs then assembled in Philadelphia, at the request of Congress, directing them how to act in the matter under deliberation. I told him that it was in vain, as nobody there could read it. He said that anybody could read the words and that the Indians would know the meaning of them. On another occasion I told him that I was informed, as I really was, that when the Indians got drunk, but only when drunk, that they still threatened to kill him; at which he seemed extremely displeased, and swore that if he knew any one of them that dared threaten him he would be about with them yet; that it was he that was ill-used, and not them; that his goods were taken from him, and himself threatened to be roasted.

"David never was married; nor do I think he ever will. Skins to the amount of 150 l. being seized upon him, which he, in common with many others, was smuggling into the States, has reduced him; and at present he has no other employment than that of carrying dispatches and money for gentlemen of the fort and district of Nassa"—Nassau was one of the early names for the Canadian district of Niagara—"to and from any place they may have occasion. His honesty and fidelity is so well known, that he is entrusted with sums of money to any amount, without requiring any token or receipt for the same; and I was told, when with me on his way to New York, that he had seven or eight score of pounds belonging to different people, sent for articles which he was to bring them from that city.

"David was a staunch friend to the British during the last war; and was well known to those who were in high command, and had ample recommendations and certificates of his services from them. Scarce a corner of the British Colonies or United States but he is acquainted in.

"The strange adventures of his life are so well known, that I was told that he was offered 200 l. for a detail of them from a printer in Albany. I put the question to himself. He only acknowledged 100 l. from a printer in New York; but he declined to accept of it, as he thought it too troublesome. Yet I know that he would have given it to me, had we had time and leisure; as he sat up a whole night, when we were traveling, to give me what I have already inserted, for which I consider myself much obliged to him.

"David told me that he never was in Britain since he left it very young but once, when he landed in England, on his way to Scotland to see his relations; and knowing that a sister of his was married and settled there in a respectable line, he waited on her; but as he was in the Indian dress, though excellent of its kind, she refused to acknowledge him for her brother; and as he did not know but his friends in Scotland might do the same, he returned to America, where he means to end his days; and as the country is now fast settling in the neighborhood of the grant of lands he got from the Indians, he is in hopes it will yet turn out to good account for him."

One can but regret that we have no further record of what befel David Ramsay, no other glimpse of perhaps the most melodramatic figure in the history of the Niagara region; an honest man, whom people freely trusted with their money, notwithstanding his little difficulties with Government, for smuggling furs across the Niagara; evidently a worthy and faithful fellow, who, though he modestly acknowledged having killed but eight Indians, Capt. Campbell says, on information received from others, had actually slain eleven, "but," adds the captain, "as I give ample faith to his own narrative, and as he in every other respect seemed to be a man of strict veracity, honesty and integrity, I disregarded what others say, and trust to his own account."

A few words should be added regarding Capt. Patrick Campbell himself, but for whom we should probably have no knowledge of Ramsay. He was of a famous Highland clan and family, and in the neighborhood of Fort William and throughout Inverness-shire, raised the company of hard fighters which he commanded, in the 42d Regiment, the redoubtable Black Watch. He had three sons who served also in the same regiment, at the Battle of the Nile, where two of them were killed. A Lieutenant Macdonald of the same regiment, married Capt. Campbell's daughter Mary; and their daughter, Margaret, married William Barclay, a Scotch lawyer, who moved to America and to Buffalo and for some years was book-keeper for David Bell, for many years a well-known ship-builder here. The Barclays lived for a time at Fort Erie. Their daughter, the great-granddaughter of Capt. Patrick Campbell, is Mrs. W. Cleveland Allen of this city, and her parents are buried in the Allen family lot at Forest Lawn. Mrs. Allen possesses numerous interest-

ing relics of her family, including a fine miniature of her great-grandfather, in his regimental uniform; the medal awarded to one of his sons for gallantry in the campaign against Napoleon in Egypt; and silhouette portraits of her grandmother, Mary Macdonald. Mr. Allen, it may be added, is a son of the late Hon. Lewis F. Allen, of this city, and a cousin of ex-President Grover Cleveland.

THE STORY OF DAVID RAMSAY

David Ramsay was a native of Scotland, born in the town of Leven in Fife. He was my guide through the wilderness, from Upper Canada through the Genesee country to the settled parts of the province of New York. His story, as given me by himself, was nearly in the following words. It was authenticated and confirmed by numbers of people of my acquaintance in Canada, New York, and most other parts of America through which I travelled.

"I left my native country in the early part of my life, and entered on board a transport bound for Quebec in the capacity of ship's boy, and served the British till the close of the French war in 1763, when I settled upon the Mohawke River, in the province of New York; I afterwards engaged with the Fur North West Company of Montreal, to trade with the Indians upon the upper lakes of Canada. After serving them for some time I returned to the Mohawke country where I resided until a boy, a brother of mine, named George, arrived from Scotland; and having the assistance of this lad, I thought of trading with the Indians on my own account, and for that purpose purchased a large battoe at Skennecktity, and procured credit to the amount of 150l. York currency's worth of goods, and proceeded with these up the Mohawke river to Fort Stanix.* Crossed the portage down Wood Creek, to Lake Canowagas, from thence down the river that empties into Lake Ontario, at

* Stanwix, now Rome, N. Y.

Oswego; and proceeded up that lake, the river Niagara, to the Falls of that name. Carried my battoe and goods across the portage to Lake Erie; from thence to the river Sold Year, or Kettel Creek,* and proceeded up that river for sixty miles, where we met tribes of different nations of Indians encamped for the purpose of hunting, and informed them of my intention of residing among them during the winter, and erected a sufficient house of logs which I divided in the middle by a partition; the one end I used as a kitchen, or place for dressing our victuals, and in the other I kept my goods, and placed our bed.

"I continued bartering my goods for the furs till towards January 1772, when two Ibawa† Indians came down express from Detroit to Niagara, carrying with them a war belt, and publishing, as they went along, that it was the intention of the Ibawas, Otowas, Potervatomies, and other western Indians, next spring to wage war against the British and Six Nations. There was an Otowa Indian from Detroit that hunted close by the place where I lived, and upon the return of the Ibawa men from Niagara, they remained two or three days with me. They all visited me frequently, and behaved to me with the greatest civility. Upon the departure of the Ibawa men, the Otowa Indian came often to my house and boasted of the great feats he had performed, particularly of his having killed three Englishmen like me, and said he would think nothing of killing me and my brother also. I told him that if any Indian should offer to trouble me, I would kill one and hurt another. The Otowa Indian came frequently to my house for rum, which he as frequently received, I always repeating my former threat to him of killing one and hurting another, should I be molested.

"About the 20th of February some families of Ibawa Indians, and one family of the Messessagoe Indians, came and resided in the neighborhood of my house. The Otowa Indian formerly mentioned, accompanied by the other Indians, used to come to my house and demand rum, ammuni-

* Kettle Creek discharges into Lake Erie a short distance west of Long Point. It is difficult to recognize in Capt. Campbell's "Sold Year" the old French name of the stream, "Riviere à la Chaudiere."

† Ojibway.

tion, clothes, &c., &c., which I did not think prudent to refuse them as their number then amounted to forty. The Messessagoe Indian was a poor infirm old man, and had a family of ten children to provide for, and I having compassion for him gave him snow shoes and other necessities for the support of his family, and also used to assist him to carry home the venison he killed. The whole Indians were in use to assemble to the house of the Otowa Indian and send for rum to me. One night the Otowa Indian and his companion came to my house for rum. I suspecting they had a design upon my life, searched them and took three knives from them, and sent them away without giving them any. A few nights thereafter the Otowa came to me for the loan of a gun to shoot a Deer he said he observed near the house; I suspecting him as formerly, immediately got up out of bed, and pretending to be intoxicated, made a great noise, at which the Otowa went out of the house, and I followed him as far as his hut, carrying with me a large knife. I found there the whole other Indians, and among the rest the old Messessagoe Indian, who upon perceiving me hung down his head, and pretended to be asleep. I frequently asked them what [use] they intended to make of a gun, as there was no Deer to be seen, but never received a satisfactory answer; I then returned to my own house, as did all the Indians to their respective huts. The old Messessagoe Indian fearing the other Indians meant to kill him, and having cause to suspect they would make an attempt upon him that night, carried with him two Deer skins, his gun, and ammunition, and placed himself upon the road which led to his dwelling, so as to intercept them if they should come. He did not continue long in this situation when he fell asleep, and the other Indians coming upon him, took his gun from him, and demanded the cause of his being there. The Messessagoe, afraid to acknowledge the truth, pretended that he had dreamed that the Senekee nation of Indians that night were to kill all the Indians that were hunting, and that he had placed himself where they found him to intercept them. Soon afterwards the old Messessagoe, his family and all the families of the Ibawa Indians, left the place; there

only remained the Otowa Indian, his companion, a woman, and two children, the one of whom was nine, and the other thirteen years of age. And being tired of giving away my goods and rum for nothing, and being also much exasperated with the many insults I met with, resolved to refuse them every thing they demanded, and repel force by force, while I was able, whatever the consequences might be.

"Upon the night of the 15th of February, the Otowa Indian came to my house, and easily entered the outer apartment, where he alighted a fire with straw, and as I knew that he could come with no other intention at that time of night than to kill me, for which cause alone he and the others staid behind the rest, I stood with my spear ready to receive him. The Indian sought admittance into the inner apartment, where I slept and kept my goods, which being refused him, he broke in the door with an axe, and on his entering, I who was ready waiting for him, struck him with a spear on the breast, and following my blow from the inner to the outer apartment, threw him down on the floor, and rammed him through; on this he called out that he was killed. At this instant I received a violent blow from behind, which nearly brought me to the ground, on which I turned about, and struck that person with the shaft of my spear. By the light of the moon which shone bright, I saw another Indian coming to the door with a long knife drawn in his hand. I sprung out and struck him with my spear in the breast, and killed him also, I then returned and killed the one who struck me in the dark. After this, I waited in expectation that the whole tribe had returned, but after some time, and seeing none come I understood that it was only the family that staid behind, who had a design upon me, that I had then killed. These I scalped according to the Indian custom, and having dug a grave for them in the snow at the gable of my house, put them all in together; at the same time repeating, that they should never more quarrel with me nor any other person. The Indian children still remained, and being from their youth unable to provide for themselves, would have inevitably perished had not I sent for them.*

* Had not David been humane and generous enough to send his brother for them to his own house, his conduct and behaviour to the children, clearly evince, that in killing the Indians he was actuated by motives of self-defence, and not from a thirst for blood.—*Note by Capt. Campbell.*

"I still dreading that the Indians who were formerly encamped in the neighborhood might return, and being unwilling that my brother should be hurt, and being also assured, that if any Indians discovered the children with him, that they would conclude what really had happened, I therefore removed them and my brother to a small valley about a mile distant from the house where I erected a sort of shade for them, and carried provisions to them as they required. From the top of one of the hills that formed the valley, my brother could easily see my house, and from its smoking, or otherwise, discover whether or not I was in life; and if I happened to be killed, I gave him directions to proceed with the children to Detroit, a distance of 150 miles.*

"In about twenty days, the ice in the river broke up, and I judging it high time for me to leave my present comfortless situation, went for my brother and children, and having put my furs and other goods, consisting of five Christian packs, chiefly Deer skins aboard of my boat, proceeded with them for Niagara, it being unsafe for us to go to Detroit as the war then raged there. We proceeded down the river, as far as Long Point, and the drift or floating ice having choaked up the entrance to the Lake, we were forced to go ashore and encamp at that place.

"Some days after this, being out in the creek with my boat, I discovered two men in a canoe coming towards me. On their coming near, I challenged them, and bade them keep off; but they laughed at me, and still came on, saying that they came in a peaceable manner, upon which we went to my Wigwam. I asked where they staid, and if there were any other Indians in the neighborhood. They answered none but them, and pointed to a large pine tree, upon a height, nine or ten miles off, and that there they resided. After giving them a little rum, they went off, saying they would return next day to trade with me. The wind blew very hard at

* After these attempts on his life, and what ensued in consequence of it, no man but David himself would think of staying alone in the place; but it would seem, that David would have faced all the Indians of America, and devils in hell, before he would abandon his property, which he could not then carry away. He therefore slept in the house, and killed venison for his brother, the children, and himself during the day.—*Note by Capt. Campbell.*

south west, which scattered all the ice in the bay, and the day following I went out in the morning to shoot Ducks. When I came a-shore, being wet, I stripped all off excepting my shirt and breech cloth, and hung them up to dry. After breakfast my brother and the two children went to gather juniper berries; I desired my brother to take his gun, and to allow no Indian to come nigh him, but to stand behind a tree, and shoot any one that would offer to approach him; for that there was no dependance to be placed in an Indian. In his absence, about eleven o'clock, came the two forementioned Indians, and sate down in the Wigwam with me, (the Wigwam or encampment, was a few poles set up and covered with mats of flags, which the Indians in that country make, and carry about with them in winter). They asked me for rum, I told them that it belonged to my comrade, and that I could not give any till he came. I observed two canoes coming along the lake, and asked to whom they belonged, they said that they were Milechiwack and Renauge's canoes, (the names of two Indians). I then asked them why they told me the day before that there were none but them in the neighbourhood; they answered that the woods were full of them. The canoes landed; the two men came into the Wigwam, sat down, and asked for rum, I answered as before. The two women, as customary, went into the wood, and put up a fire, cut some wood, and carried up their things to the fire, and laid their canoes bottom upwards. Then they came into my Wigwam, and the young chief of one of the tribes, took my pot, that was boiling for dinner, off the fire, and gave it to the women to take to their fire and eat. I begged of him to leave some for the children that were with me against they came home, but in an angry manner he told me that I had victuals enough, and might cook more. I then judged what they would be at, and put on my leggans and moga-zines, and other clothing, and took the large knife, I had formerly taken from the Indians I killed, and put it in my girdle. They asked me what I meant by that, I told them I always wore it among Indians. Soon after my brother and the two children came home, I took them to the boat, and gave them some biscuit and dried venison, and asked them if they

wished to see what they had seen three weeks before. They asked me what that was. I answered, 'Blood.' They said, 'No.' Then I told them not to tell that I had killed their people. They said they would not. My brother gave the Indians some rum, and I returned with the children. The chief asked whose children they were. I answered, that they were the children of white people, going to Niagara with me. He asked who they were again; and I stood up and pulled out the knife and struck it into one of the poles of the house, and told them how I had been used, and what I had done, and asked them if they were angry. They said they were not; that those I had killed were not Ibawas, but that they were Pannees,* prisoner slaves, taken from other nations. They then asked for more rum, which I gave them; then two of them went over to their own fire, and two of them staid by me, and in a short time the other two came back, and these that were with me went over to the fire in the wood, and carried the children with them, by which shifting, it would appear they were laying the plot they afterwards very nearly effected. They demanded my arms, and said that I had been drunk and mad all winter. I told them that I thought myself always fit to take care of my own arms, and putting myself in a posture of defence, laid hold of my gun, ammunition, and hatchet. After killing the first Indians, I cut lead and chewed above thirty balls, and above three pound of Goose Shot, for I thought it a pity to shoot an Indian with a smooth ball. I then desired my brother to carry the things down to the water side, to be put into the boat; but he being but twelve months from his father's house in Scotland, but seventeen years of age, and unacquainted with the manners of Indians, was dilatory. I went to assist him, and the Indians, under pretence of taking leave of, and shaking hands with me, seized upon me, threw me down, and tied me neck and heels. One of them took up my hatchet, and would have killed me with it, had he not been prevented by another of them. He then struck me with his fist upon the face, which hurt me much, and put an end to my great talking. They then set me up, pinioned my arms behind me, and caused me go and sit

* Modern form, "Pawnees."

down by the fire. One of them watched, and took care of me, and drank only one dram during the night, it being customary among Indians, that one of a party shall always refrain from drinking, to take care of the rest. My brother coming to look for me, they seized upon him also; and I fearing they would kill him, called out, 'That he was a boy; that it was me killed the Otowas, and that they might ask the children if it was not so.' They only tied him, and placed him upon the other side of the fire, under the care of another of them who did not drink any. They used frequently to untie my brother, and send him and the Indian who had him in charge, for rum, which they brought in a brass kettle that would contain about three English gallons. The chief and his companion drank freely, and also made me drink some out of a large wooden spoon that would hold a pint. As I sat by the fire tied, having only my Indian dress on, I complained much of cold, my shirt being tore down, and laid open; my leggans were also tore in the struggle, and my blood ran down my belly and thighs from the stroke I received from the Indian on the face, I therefore requested of them to put a pair of my own blankets about my shoulders to keep me warm; but the Indian that had the care of me did not approve of this measure. Renauge's wife used to pass by me, and raise the blanket upon my shoulders to keep me warm. She also gave me a drink of water when I was first tied; and if the Indian that had the care of me happened to be out of the way, she used to touch me on the back with her knee, and tell me to pray;—that my time was short. She and all the children went to sleep under the tree where all the guns, hatchets, and other things stood. Nican, Equom's wife, kept walking about all night. They had tied my hands up to my neck, as well as pinioned my arms behind me, and some of them accused me of things I knew nothing of. I always appealed to one or other of themselves, that what they alleged was not true. As my hands were tied to my neck, it gave me great pain, and I requested to loose them, saying that while my arms were pinioned behind, I could make no use of them. Though I was sure they were to kill me, I did not think much about it, as I believed it was as good for me to be dead as alive. What

I regretted most was, that I could not be revenged of them. I then desired my brother in broad Scotch, so as not to be understood by one of the Indians who could talk a little English, to bring me one of the clasp knives from the boat, and drop it by me, in order that I might get the cords cut; but Nican, Equom's wife, seeing him go off for the boat, called out, 'To kill me directly, that my companion had gone for the arms to the boat.' On this I called him back, so that I did not get the knife. The Indian who had charge of me, told me, that Johnston, meaning Sir William Johnston [Johnson], superintendent of Indian affairs, would forgive an Indian for killing a white man, but not me for killing an Indian. He then drew out the big knife, and turning up the coals of the fire, asked me how I should like to be roasted there to-morrow. I answered, 'Very well.' Then they gave me the spoon half full of rum, of which I drank a little. The Indian putting the knife to my breast, asked, 'If I wished to see vermillion?' (meaning blood); which was saying as much as that he meant to kill me unless I drunk it off, which I therefore did. He made me drink two spoonfuls more in a very short space, but it did not affect me. This rum was one-third water, mixed for trading with. The Indian who had me in charge and I, entered on a hot argument; upon which I stood up, and as I would not yield, he seized me, and threw me down. In the struggle, I grappled him by the breast, so that he fell upon me; I made a grasp at the large knife, which he held drawn in his hand, and wounded him in the head and breast, upon which he ran off, as I did also. Another Indian pursued me, seized and threw me down. I called to my brother, who struck the Indian who was upon me, relieved me, and cut the cords that pinioned my arms behind me. The Indian was foundered by the stroke he received, and disabled from running off. I killed him, returned, and killed the other two, one by one, as they were coming to his assistance. At this time the women and children ran away, excepting one boy, who seized upon a gun to shoot me. I struck and killed him also. What I drank did not disable me, but rather made me more furious and alert than I otherwise would have been. My left hand

being severely wounded in wresting the knife from the Indian, my brother bound it up with a rag; and on our way to the boat, I broke the canoes to pieces, to put it out of their power to follow me. I looked about (the moon was just then descending down over the wood), and I saw the wounded Indian coming as hard as he could in quest of me. I skulked by the canoe, and just as he was running by, I sprung up, grappled him, threw him down, and put my knee upon his breast. He then begged his life; but I, remembering what he had told me a short time before, that he would roast me upon the fire, struck him with the knife, and killed him upon the spot.

"I proposed to return to carry the few things we had ashore with us, but my brother opposed it, as I was lame of the left hand, and could give no assistance. We therefore made for the boat, which was a piece off the land, and wading through the water to it, I fell and wet all my clothes; when I got into the boat, I wraped myself in a Bear Skin. Then, and not till then did the rum I had drank operate upon me. I fell asleep, and when I awoke I was all over ice. We rowed till we got out of sight of land, and then put up sail, and made for Niagara; but the wind having got up a-head, drove us back. I then steered for the south shore of Lake Erie, judging it safest, and that the Indians on that side would not hear what I had done till the lake would open, and be free of ice. The wind drove us upon a bank, and the sea washed over us, and wet every thing in the boat excepting the guns and ammunition, which I took care to preserve dry. Next day we got the things ashore, unpacked, to dry them, but not so much so as not to serve as ballast for the boat. Here we made a Wigwam, to serve us until such time as the lake should be totally free of ice, in a place where we supposed the remotest from such as the Indians frequent, and were in hopes they would not find us out; and if any of them came near us we determined to kill them. I however was here but a few days when two Indians came; and as I supposed they had not heard of what had happened on the other side of the lake, I treated them in a friendly manner. They asked me if I had rum and ammunition; and when I

answered that I had, they said they would come next day, bring skins, and trade with me. I told them not to let any other body know that I was there; and that if any more than them two were to come, that I would not deal with or allow them to come near me. They solemnly promised that they would not, and that they would come alone. However, as I did not choose to trust them, I got every thing on board, and kept at some distance from the shore. The two Indians accordingly came, and requested I would land and trade with them; but upon observing other Indians sculking in the wood, I refused to comply. On this the whole party appeared, and threatened to fire at me in the event I did not trade with them. By this time I was pretty much out of reach of their shot, and proceeded down the lake, and some days thereafter reached Fort Erie. I told the commanding officer of the Indians I had killed; upon which he confined me, and sent me with a party prisoner to Niagara, where I was again imprisoned."



APPENDIX A

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FORTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

The forty-second annual meeting of the Buffalo Historical Society was held at the Historical Building on the evening of Tuesday, January 12, 1904. There was a fair attendance of members. President Langdon being in Europe, Vice-President George A. Stringer presided. After the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting, by the Secretary, acting-President Stringer addressed the meeting, as follows:

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Members of the Buffalo Historical Society, Ladies and Gentlemen:

On the thirtieth day of September, 1902, this beautiful home of the Buffalo Historical Society was dedicated to its present uses for all time to come, before a large and responsive gathering of the members and friends of the society. Tonight, we are met together for our forty-second annual meeting, and, in doing so, precedent, and the proprieties of this interesting occasion, require that I should make proper reference to some of the more important events of the current fiscal year as are most notably connected with our interests, and of our hopes and expectations for the future. Into our past history I have no occasion to enter; that has already been done by abler pens than mine; neither shall I weary you with numerous small details, although they have contributed in no small measure to the perfect whole, but simply give you a few of the more salient facts connected with our history during the past year.

One of the duties incumbent on us is to acquire, preserve and disseminate useful information, and this leads me to speak first of our valuable reference library, which is largely used by seekers after genealogical and historical facts, and is of permanent and increasing value.

By gift and purchase our library slowly grows, but its needs are great, and the amount our society can spend is relatively small. Our

most important acquisition during 1903, was the purchase from a private collection of books relating to the 1812 period of the Niagara frontier, which added to those we already possessed on that subject, gives us the distinction of having a finer and more complete library on that branch of history than any other public institution in the State.

The library has now reached a stage of development where more money is needed to buy books coming within our particular scope, and when it can do so to the greatest advantage; valuable Americana becoming more and more scarce as every year goes by. Opportunities often occur for us to purchase a certain class of books which are positively required, but seldom is it that we are in a position to take advantage of such opportunities. It is to be hoped that our members who realize the value to the community of such a library in its midst will aid us in every way possible.

The short afternoon talks on Sundays, inaugurated by our efficient Secretary, have proved a great success. It cannot be doubted that these brief addresses, so comprehensive in character, and covering a wide range of subjects, have tended to increase the usefulness, the influence, and the reputation of the society.

At the several evening meetings held at different times throughout the year when valuable papers have been read, or addresses delivered, the attendance, as well as the interest shown by our members, has been most gratifying. May it never grow less.

Numerous donations have been made to the society during the year, many of them of no little importance. As evidence of the great interest of our citizens in the success of the Historical Society they have a peculiar value. They will be more fully spoken of in the Secretary's report. The Board of Managers indulge the hope that these gifts will stimulate other friends of the society to go and do likewise. I desire to emphasize the fact that we need more means to make this society what it should be; to carry on the work it is trying to do, and more that it ought to do, to make it educational; to make it a useful adjunct to the schools of Buffalo; in short, as a matter of civic pride, to make it properly represent the culture and intelligence of this community.

In this great and wealthy city we should have from one thousand to fifteen hundred resident members; but what are the real facts in the case? One hundred and forty life memberships; four hundred and twenty resident. Surely there is room for some missionary work; surely there are hundreds of our citizens who are both public-spirited and patriotic who would gladly be one of us, if their attention was once called to the work and aims of the society. We should like very much to be able to issue at least two royal octavo volumes of our *Publications* instead of one each year, and this we can do with more means at our command. We have a large mass of valuable material at our hand; we only lack the necessary money that it may see the light of day, and become the printed page.

A number of new cases have been bought during the past year, whereby we are enabled to display the gifts we have received to far better advantage than ever before. They have also been labelled and classified. Our portrait gallery has also received not a few important acquisitions, and several more gifts in that direction have been promised us. Improvement and progress are to be noted on every hand.

The results are most gratifying. We might well take for our motto, "Success crowns endeavor."

As one who can speak of his associates in office with just pride, I desire to call your attention to the important work done by our able and courteous Secretary, Mr. Frank H. Severance, to whom this society is greatly indebted; of the careful attention to financial details of our excellent Treasurer, Mr. Charles J. North, and of the united and harmonious action at all times of the President and the Board of Managers.

It seems as though not a year could go by, but that Death, with heavy, unsparing hand, smites down some of our small number. Only three short months ago he took from us our friend and associate, Honorable Wilson Shannon Bissell, one who was devoted to the interests of this society, and one whom we shall always greatly miss.

It is eminently fit and proper that memorials to distinguished men and women should be placed within these walls, and it is, therefore, with especial gratification—I trust I may be permitted to note—that this afternoon there was unveiled the *first* tablet ever erected in this building. It is the beautiful tribute of the Buffalo Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, in loving memory of one who was for many years their first Regent, and who was also one of the most noble and intellectual of her sex. To hear her converse, and be admitted to her friendship, was, in very truth, a liberal education.

In closing, permit me to say, that as we turn a backward glance upon the record of the past year, it must be evident that a marked improvement has been made in many important particulars. There is a greater solidarity arising from the fact that this society is exerting a more potent influence on the life of the city than it has ever done before. It is a moral power in the community. While the Buffalo Historical Society already has a history that we cherish with pride, we believe there is a future for it to which the past is but the threshold. To the attainment of this result it is the high privilege of every member to contribute his or her part.

Long after we have passed through the busy walks of life—long after other sounds than the ceaseless hum of a crowded city shall have fallen on our ears—long may this institution exist, still fresh in the bloom and vigor of a buoyant youth, conferring pleasure and instruction upon all who shall come within its ever-widening sphere of usefulness, and an object of pride to every loyal Buffalonian.

Mr. Charles J. North, Treasurer, submitted the annual report for his office.

Frank H. Severance, Secretary, read his annual report.

On motion of Mr. J. N. Larned, Messrs. Lewis J. Bennett, Albert H. Briggs, M. D., George B. Mathews, Hon. Peter A. Porter and Charles J. North were elected members of the Board of Managers for a term of four years, ending January, 1908.

No other business was transacted. There was singing by Mrs. George D. Morgan, followed by a social hour, and inspection of the Society's collections.

ANNUAL ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

Pursuant to statute, a meeting of the Board of Managers was held for the election of officers, on the first Thursday following the annual meeting; on Thursday, January 14th, at four o'clock, the Board met at the office of Robert W. Day in the Ellicott Square building. Present, Messrs. Bennett, Briggs, Day, Dudley, Howland, Porter, North, Severance, Stringer and Wilson.

Vice-President Stringer stated the object of the meeting. On motion of Mr. Dudley, the chair appointed as a nominating committee Messrs. Briggs, Day and Wilson, who after conference, reported the following ticket:

For President, Andrew Langdon.
For Vice-President, George Alfred Stringer.
For Secretary, Frank H. Severance.
For Treasurer, Charles J. North.

On motion of Mr. Bennett, the Secretary was directed to cast the ballot for the Board, there being no dissenting vote, and the above-named officers were declared unanimously elected for the ensuing year; it being a reëlection for all of them.

Adjourned.

FRANK H. SEVERANCE,
Secretary.

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT.

Frank H. Severance, Secretary, submitted the following report for the Board of Managers, at the annual meeting, Jan. 12th, here printed with some addenda as indicated in the report:

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen:

The Secretary's report is an accounting to the members, for the Board of Managers, of the work of the year. A full review of that work would exceed the limits of a report suitable to this occasion. I shall, therefore, present the principal features of the work, as concisely as possible, leaving the full schedules of accessions, gifts, lectures, etc., unreported, a matter of record for all who care to consult the lists, or for future publication. No comparisons are instituted with former years, for in no former years has the society worked under its existing conditions.

It should, however, be said at the opening of this report, as the most significant and important fact which the board of managers has to present to the members, that never before in the 42 years of the Society's history, has it numbered so many citizens of Buffalo among its members, or so many others among its helpful and interested friends, as at this time. A cordial community sentiment is today our best possession, and our chief encouragement for the future.

Finances and Building. The Treasurer's report has made known the state of the various funds. There have passed through the hands of the Secretary, during 1903, \$4227.26 from various collections, of which \$3862.26 have been handed over to the Treasurer, and \$365 variously disbursed. Of the expense of maintaining the building, over \$1100—to be exact, \$1103.72—have gone for repairs to the roof, the south portico and steps, the laying of drain-tile around the building, the restoration of a sewer which had been broken into in the process of "wrecking" the Pan-American grounds, and the laying of cement floors in the basement, to replace hardwood floors which had become ruined by dampness, and by flooding. When we recall the costly character of this building, and the circumstances of its construction, it would seem as though not one cent of expense for such items should so soon have become necessary. As to the roof, we have no guarantee. From an æsthetic point of view, it is highly desirable to complete the decoration of our ceilings, but under existing conditions it would be most unwise to undertake work which might be ruined by the first hard rain.* The present sewer outlet of this building is through private grounds northerly to Amherst Street. The license which we enjoy may be terminated at any time at the will of any of the several owners of the property traversed. Such an event might entail the closing of the building, until a suitable and permanent connection with the city sewer system were made, that problem being made the greater by the fact that there is no sewer in Elmwood Avenue at this point.

In other respects, use of the building shows it to be in the main satisfactory, and fairly well adapted to our present needs. Our lecture room on many occasions has proved too small, but we are not disposed to find fault with that. To meet the needs of a growing museum, some alterations have been made in the basement, and more will be recommended as soon as funds are available. It is hoped that we will be no longer troubled there with dampness. The large room at the east end of the basement, used during the Exposition as a dining-room, will soon be opened to the public as a museum of old things of local interest—souvenirs of Buffalo, relics of the pioneer days in Western New York; and it will be called the Old Buffalo room. We have not, at present, a very rich collection for it; and would be glad to enlist for it the interest of as many of our members as possible.

The Museum. Notable gifts to the Museum have been the Wm. H. Cottier collection of Indian, Alaskan and South Sea articles, with a small collection of Aztec pottery; and the D. M. Silver collection of relics of the Western New York Indians. These, with the former possessions of the society in this class, and the ethnological and archaeological collection of Dr. A. L. Benedict, now deposited here, practically fill one large room, which we know as the Indian room. Its arrangement was largely committed to the hands of Mr. Moses Shongo; its present attractiveness is largely due to his taste and zeal. Through Mr. Shongo's efforts have also been procured a number of articles, illustrating the life of our Western New York Indians, and some historical relics, notably the tomahawk of Capt. Shongo of Revolutionary fame. The collection formed by Mr. Silver

* A new roof has since been put on, with a ten years' guarantee.

is the result of many years of patient searching in the Indian graves and mounds, village sites and Indian battlefields of Western New York. Its donor expects to add materially to it, and when fully classified and labeled, it will prove of definite value to the student of this phase of our history.

Mr. Cottier's collection merits more of description than can be accorded to it in this report. It represents many years of assiduous collecting, thousands of miles of travel, from Nova Scotia to the Pacific, and from Alaska to Mexico. The collection of pipes, nearly 300 in number, represents some 40 North American tribes. In it are a number of ancient pipes, which have been smoked at famous councils and to each of which a chapter of history pertains. Forty-one tribes are represented in the collection of necklaces; which, with the weapons of war, and utensils of peace, wearing apparel, feather bonnets, beaded fabrications, both ancient and modern, leather work, pottery and miscellaneous articles in great variety, forms a museum of relics of the Indian, especially the Indian of the plains, which will become of increasing value to the student.

Mr. Cottier's gifts have also extended into other fields. He has added to our museum a collection of some 60 pistols and small arms, illustrating the evolution of the modern revolver. Some of the older weapons, such as the short-barreled blunderbuss, and ornamented Arabian pistols, are rare and curious. A small collection of arrows, spears and war-clubs from the South Seas, and miscellaneous articles in considerable number, are to be credited to this friend, whose interest in our museum has practically resulted in making it over.

Portraits. During the year the society has received the following oil portraits: Dr. Chas. E. West, from the Graduates Association; Rev. M. L. R. Thompson, from Chas. P. Norton; Cyrus P. Lee, from the Misses Lee; George W. Townsend, from Mrs. Townsend; of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin Thayer, from their son, Edwin P. Thayer; Solomon G. Haven, from Mr. L. G. Sellstedt; Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Galligan, from their daughter, Mrs. J. H. Parker; and among other portraits, crayon and photograph, are those of Mr. Jewett M. Richmond, from Mrs. Richmond; Mr. Richard J. Sherman, from Mrs. Sherman; Hon. Chas. Daniels, from Mrs. Daniels; Wm. G. Bancroft, from Mr. J. K. Bancroft for the late Mrs. Wm. G. Bancroft; Hon. James O. Putnam, from his family; and Mr. George S. Hazard, from Mr. Archibald M. Hazard. Besides these are numerous small portraits, groups of clubs and societies, all adding to the interest of our walls.

No department of the museum is yet properly labeled, nor are the portraits satisfactorily designated. To clean the portraits, scientifically arrange and fully to label the objects in all cases, will it is expected, be among the early improvements this year.

It is not desired to make here a natural history museum, but an historical museum. History and science meet in the fields of archaeology and ethnology, and collections in those departments are appropriate and desirable here. Some special collections of natural history objects are now here, and the society is glad to have them and to care for them, because they are the gifts of friends, and add to the attractiveness of the building. But so far as the expansion of our museum is the result of effort on the part of the society, it should be always in the direction of historical object-lessons. We can now

do pretty well in making plain, say to a class of school-children, the primitive life of the Indian, with his household utensils, his weapons and wardrobe for war, and the articles used in his amusements or in his worship. Similarly, by the aid of articles in the Greene, Lord and Smith collections, we can help the teacher whose class is studying of Egypt or the Orient. A museum that does not teach has little excuse for existence. What we have here, and the even better things we hope to get, must be, as fully as possible, at the service of those who can help their studies by it.

Library. A year ago the library was reported to contain 11,036 volumes and a large number of pamphlets not catalogued but estimated, as they had been for some years previous, at about 10,000. These pamphlets, which have now been classified and made available for use, prove to be only about 3,000 in number. Among them are several hundred formerly owned by Millard Fillmore. They include a collection of the pamphlet literature relating to public affairs during the years 1840 to 1860; especially to the great problems of that period, the Missouri-Kansas bill, the Mexican War, the settlement of California and the West, the Fugitive Slave Law, Abolition and States Rights. President Fillmore's opportunity for the collection of such literature was exceptional, much of it which did not come to him through official channels, being sent to him "with the compliments of the author." Many exceedingly rare imprints are in the lot, which is of prime importance for the student of that period.

During the year our catalogued library has advanced from 11,036 to 13,645. The work of listing and cataloguing the new accessions has been faithfully performed by Mrs. Anna A. Andrews, who gives the greater part of her time to the library work, and has been especially helpful to the many enquirers in the field of genealogy.

Of the 2609 volumes added during the year over 2000 came by gift or exchange with other institutions. From Washington, in May, were secured some 600 volumes of Government publications, mostly reports from departments, special commissions, etc., submitted to the 54th and 55th Congresses. This series, which at the office of the Public Printer is known as the "green cloth" series, is rather more attractively gotten up than is usual with Government publications, and includes many useful reports on a great variety of subjects—Cuban Independence, the Panama and Nicaragua canal routes, seal fisheries, exploration in Alaska, scientific work of the Fisheries Commission, trade and labor, charities—in fact, the history of our own times.

Aside from genealogical and reference works, the principal purchase for the library was a collection of between 200 and 300 volumes and pamphlets relating to the War of 1812, especially on this border. The collection includes most of the rarest items in this department, and with what the Society already owned on the subject, gives our institution an exceptionally full and valuable representation in this field of local history.

Notable gifts to the library during the year include: One hundred books and pamphlets from Mr. J. F. Behn; 106 well-bound volumes of the *London Graphic* and the *Spirit of the Times*, from Mr. S. S. Spaulding; some 200 miscellaneous volumes from Mr. Andrew Langdon; and 200 books from Mr. Wm. S. Slade. A record of all gifts is preserved.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE

Removal from downtown to this building has not materially affected the use of the library by the public. It is believed that that use will grow as the library is systematically developed in its own special field of local history and genealogy.

PUBLICATIONS. During the year the Society has issued Vol. VI of its *PUBLICATIONS*, and it has been sent free to all life and resident members. The policy of giving these volumes to members, inaugurated in 1912, still appears to be a wise one. The latest volume, so far as heart from, has found favor with its readers. Copies were sent to some 34 institutions throughout the country, and to a few newspapers. The price to non-members is \$4. It is expected that the publication work will be continued. The appearance of each new volume creates a demand for the earlier volumes; we now have very few duplicate copies of Vols. I and II, and will not long be able to supply them at any price. The series has taken good rank among the historical publication series of the country.

MEMBERSHIP. During 1913 the Society gained nine life members, four corresponding members, and 193 resident members, a total gain in membership of 206, two of the new life members having formerly been in the class of resident members. The total present membership is: Honorary, 3; life, 140; corresponding, 155; resident, 407; a total of 705. One other class of membership, called patrons, was created some years ago. Eligibility to it was gained by a gift of \$500 or more to the Society. There is at present no living Patron, the late Hon. James M. Smith having been the only member so designated. The class continues open, however, and offers a fine opportunity to our friends. It is perhaps well to state in this connection that all payments for life membership—the fee is \$100—go into a permanent fund, only the income from which is available for the Society's use. While at present money-rates the income from such \$100 might not equal the \$4 paid annually by the resident member for the fact that it is in perpetuity, and that the principal cannot be expended, makes this form of membership advantageous for the contributor—looking ahead to his welfare in future years. It is desirable for many reasons to hold up our permanent fund, even if it should be somewhat at the expense, in the immediate years, of the general fund. Such a fund of large enough, would take the place of the endowment which for some institutions makes possible certain enterprises for the benefit of members which this institution is ready to undertake as soon as it seems financially advisable.

One further word may be added on the subject of life memberships. Heretofore, in this institution, life memberships have ceased with the death of the holder. The suggestion is made, that life memberships may be made to pass to the children or others near of kin to the original holders. This plan, if decided upon, will make such membership of greater value to the holder, and help enlist the interest of the sons and daughters in an institution which the parent has enjoyed.

The Society's losses by death in 1903, of life, resident and corresponding members, were as follows:

- March 18—James G. Forsyth.
- " 24—Miss Louisa Wilkeson.
- " 24—Mrs. Lois H. Colyer.

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April	4—James Crate.
"	9—Edward P. Beals.
"	19—David Bell.
"	19—John A. Kennedy.
"	24—Hon. Jas. O. Putnam.
"	—Daniel Sherman, Forestville, N. Y.
May	25—Philip M. Riley, Holland, N. Y.
"	25—D. C. Le Fevre.
July	23—Robert Denton.
Aug.	7—George Starr Hazard.
Oct.	6—Hon. Wilson S. Bissell.
"	20—Hon. Thos. Vincent Welch, Niagara Falls.
Nov.	19—Mrs. Harriet Maxwell Converse, New York City.
Dec.	17—Ellis Webster.
"	17—Alfred Haines.

Of these, Miss Wilkeson, Mr. Beals, Mr. Bell, Mr. Denton, Mr. Hazard, Mr. Bissell and Mr. Haines were life members; Mr. Bissell was a member of the Board of Managers at the time of his death, and had rendered the institution conspicuous service, especially in the negotiations preliminary to legislation which brought about our ownership of this building. Mr. Hazard was by several years our oldest member in point of age, and we have but one living member with a longer membership; that is Mr. Pascal P. Pratt, who was one of the original organizers of the Society in the spring of 1862. Mr. Hazard and the Hon. Wm. P. Letchworth both joined the society on January 6, 1863. Mr. Hazard had served two terms as president, besides filling other offices, and was at the time of his death the only honorary member of the Board of Managers.

Meetings. This building has been open free to the public every week day of the past year, two holidays excepted, and every Sunday afternoon. Throughout the year, except for a few weeks in mid-summer, Sunday afternoon lectures were given, varied occasionally with musical or other exercises. Nothing that the Society has ever done has proved more popular. Undertaken primarily with a view to making the building and its contents of interest to the community, it has resulted in bringing hither, except in inclement weather, many more visitors than our lecture-hall can accommodate. Several friends have shared in making these afternoons attractive and profitable. Among those who have freely helped in this work, giving their time and talent, and some of them being at great pains to procure and arrange illustrative material, were Supt. Henry L. Elmendorf of the Public Library; the Rev. Edward C. Towne; Dr. Frederick C. Millener; Dr. A. L. Benedict; Dr. Chauncey P. Smith, the Hon. T. Guilford Smith, the Rev. L. M. Powers; Miss Harriet M. Sumner; Hon. Henry W. Hill, Hon. Peter A. Porter, Miss Ellen Langdon and Mrs. Davidson; Mrs. Alfred G. Hauenstein, Miss Alice W. Kellogg, Mr. Henry R. Howland and Mr. George D. Emerson. To every one of these helping friends the sincere thanks of this Society are due.

The Society meetings have included the exercises of the last annual meeting, Jan. 17th; on May 15th, an address on "The Literature of the Niagara Region," by the Secretary, with singing by Mrs. George D. Morgan; May 29th, a paper on "The Life and Public

Services of John Jay," by Mr. George Alfred Stringer, with an address on the same subject by the Hon. Henry W. Hill; and singing by Mrs. Benjamin F. Spire; Nov. 6th, a meeting in memory of the Hon. Jas. O. Putnam, with papers by Mr. J. N. Larned and L. G. Sellstedt, and remarks by Mr. Wm. E. Foster; Dec. 10th, a lecture on "Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians in 1779," by the Rev. Wm. Eliot Griffiths, D. D. Other lectures are being arranged for; the amount of this work which is undertaken depending largely on the interest shown by the attendance of members.

Something has been done in the way of coöperation with the teachers of history in the public and parochial schools. Several talks have been given at various schools, some historical excursions were made to points of interest on the Niagara, and many classes have been received at the building, with short talks on objects of interest. On Lincoln's Birthday several hundred children gathered here, with the teachers from School 56, for an hour of pleasant exercises appropriate to the day.

The aim in all these undertakings has been to make the institution useful to the public. Indeed our interpretation of our proper function, in our relations to the public, may be summed up in the one word, helpfulness.

THE SUNDAY AFTERNOON LECTURES.

The Sunday afternoon lectures, begun in the fall of 1902, proved acceptable and soon became established in public favor. The lecture hall is usually too small to accommodate all who seek to attend. As a matter of record, the following list of speakers and topics is appended:

1902.

- Nov. 2—The Buffalo Historical Society and its Relations to the public. By the Secretary.
- " 9—"Father Milet's Cross"—the story of a painting. By the Secretary.
- " 16—The Lincoln statue and the Julius Francis fund. By the Secretary.
- " 23—The Relation of three Public Institutions (Fine Arts Academy, Society of Natural Sciences and Historical Society) to the Buffalo public. By the Hon. T. Guilford Smith.
- " 30—Presentation of a Fenian flag; its story told by Mr. D. E. Mahoney.

1903.

- Feb. 1—Story of the steamer Caroline. By the Secretary.
- " 8—Ararat on Grand Island. By the Secretary.
- " 13—Illustrated lecture on Swords. By Supt. Henry L. Elmen-dorf, of the Public Library.
- " 22—The Youth of Washington. By the Rev. Edward C. Towne.
- Mar. 1—Some old-time forms of military music. By Dr. Frederick H. Millener.
- " 8—Washington the Ideal Soldier. By the Rev. Edward C. Towne.
- " 15—Our Relics of Red Jacket. By the Secretary.

- Mar. 22—The story of Blennerhassett's Telescope. By the Secretary.
 " 29—The Aborigines of Western New York. By Dr. A. L. Benedict.
 Apr. 5—Our new Mummy; and something about Egyptian burial customs. By the Secretary.
 " 12—Egyptian Funeral Art and Customs. By the Secretary.
 " 19—Millard Fillmore's Youth. By the Secretary.
 " 26—Tribute to the Memory of the Hon. James O. Putnam. By President Andrew Langdon.
 May 10—The Career of Dr. John C. Lord. By the Secretary.
 " 17—Curiosities of Medical Practice. By Dr. Chauncey P. Smith.
 " 24—The Ralph Waldo Emerson Centenary. By the Rev. L. M. Powers.
 " 31—Wampum, and Indian Tradition. By Moses Shongo.
 June 21—Historic Spots on the Niagara. By the Secretary.
 " 28—Our National Songs. By Miss Harriette M. Sumner.
 July 5—Story of the Flag. By the Secretary.
 Sept. 20—Ancient Seneca Rites. Moses Shongo and the Secretary.
 " 27—The Real Alaska; stereopticon lecture. By Mr. F. C. Helm.
 Oct. 4—The Erie Canal in History. By the Hon. Henry W. Hill.
 " 11—Recent Discoveries at Fort Kienuka, Tuscarora, N. Y. By the Hon. Peter A. Porter.
 " 18—A Prototype of "Prophet" Dowie in the early history of Western New York. By the Secretary.
 " 25—Michael Angelo and his statue of David. By the Secretary.
 Nov. 1—An hour of music: Songs by Miss Langdon; Mrs. F. Davidson, accompanist.
 " 8—Readings from her own poems. By Mrs. Alfred G. Hauenstein.
 " 15—The Institution of Thanksgiving in American History. By the Secretary.
 " 22—History of the Telephone. By Dr. Frederick H. Millener.
 " 29—"Some of my Experiences in South Africa." By Miss Alice W. Kellogg, State Normal School, Geneseo, N. Y.
 Dec. 6—Horatio Jones and Jasper Parrish. By the Secretary.
 " 13—The Work at the Thomas Orphan Asylum, on the Cataragus Reservation. By Mr. Henry R. Howland.
 " 20—Personal Recollections of Earlier Days in Buffalo. By Mr. George D. Emerson.
- 1904.
- Jan. 10—The Story of St. Paul's church, Buffalo. By the Secretary.
 " 17—Patriotic and Hereditary Societies. By the Secretary.
 " 24—John Paul Jones. By Miss Jane Meade Welch. Music: violin by Mr. Holyoke, piano by Miss Ball.
 " 31—Russia and the Russians. By Edward J. Goutt, a gentleman of Russia; music.
 Feb. 7—In Memory of Lincoln. By the Hon. Henry W. Hill; with a tribute to Julius E. Francis.

- Feb. 21—Old Time Church Music in Buffalo. By the Secretary.
Singing of anthems by the quartette choir of the Church
of the Redeemer.
- " 28—International Expositions; with stereopticon views. By
Mr. Richmond C. Hill.
- Mar. 6—An Hour with the Hoosier Poet and his Friends. By Mr.
Allen E. Day.
- " 13—Physical Reasons why Buffalo should be the Healthiest
City on the Great Lakes. By Dr. George E. Fell.
- " 27—"If I were Dictator of Buffalo." By Mr. Frank C. Fer-
guson.
- Apr. 3—An Historic Easter. By the Secretary.
- " 10—Two Pioneers of Buffalo: Rev. Glezen Fillmore and Louis
LeCouteulx. By the Secretary.
- " 17—A musical hour: Walter Saxer, violinist, Mildred Saxer,
pianist.
- May 1—The Y. M. C. A. and its Work. By General Secretary Al-
bert H. Whitford.
- " 8—Reminiscences of Buffalo. By George D. Emerson.
- " 15—The Supplanting of the Indian. By Dr. A. L. Benedict.
- " 22—The Secret of Happiness. By the Rev. O. P. Gifford, D. D.
- " 29—Decoration Day, and Spanish War Memories. By Capt.
Hamilton Ward.
- June 5—Salem Witchcraft and its Delusions. By Hon. Henry P.
Emerson, Superintendent of Education.
- " 12—"My Tour in Russia and Finland." By Miss Elizabeth
Hirshfield.
- " 19—Relics and Records of our Western New York Indians.
By Moses Shongo. (Given in the Indian museum.)

Most of the foregoing lectures were illustrated with historical ob-
jects, and in some cases, as that of Dr. Millener's lecture on the his-
tory of the telephone, the exhibits used were elaborate and of great
interest.

OTHER MEETINGS.

Other lectures and gatherings at the Historical Building include
the following:

1903.

- May 15—Meeting of the Society. Address, "The Literature of the
Niagara Region," by the Secretary. Singing, by Mrs.
George D. Morgan.
- " 29—Meeting of the Society. Paper by Mr. George Alfred
Stringer on "The Life and Public Services of John Jay."
Address on the same subject by the Hon. Henry W. Hill.
Singing by Mrs. Benjamin F. Spire, Miss Mary F.
Howard accompanist.
- " 30—Decoration Day; over 1200 people at the building; re-
marks by the Secretary.
- June 16—Shakespearean Recital on the south portico, where an
audience of some 400 was seated; under the auspices of
the managers of Ingleside Home.

- Oct. —Eight classes from the public and parochial schools, several hundred pupils, with their teachers, were entertained in the museums.
- Nov. 6—James O. Putnam Memorial Meeting. (The proceedings are given in the Appendix to Vol. VI of these Publications.)
- Dec. 10—Meeting of the Society. Lecture, "Sullivan's Expedition against the Indians in 1779," by William Elliot Griffis, D. D., LL. D.
- 1904.
- Jan. 12—Unveiling of the Mary Norton Thompson tablet erected by the Buffalo Chapter, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution.
- " 12—Forty-second annual meeting, Buffalo Historical Society.
- Apr. 20—Meeting of the Society. Address, "The Historical Basis of our Panama Policy," by Albert Bushnell Hart, LL. D., Professor of History in Harvard University.
- June 9—Quarterly meeting, Conference of Charities; addresses by William C. Kruse, principal of the Buffalo Truant School; and by the Secretary.
- Aug. 24—Two sessions, American Microscopical Society.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JOHN JAY,

PATRIOT, JURIST, STATESMAN, DIPLOMATIST.

BY GEORGE ALFRED STRINGER, M. A.

NOTE.—This paper was prepared for, and read before, the Buffalo Historical Society, May 29, 1903. Afterwards, by request, it was read before the Buffalo Association, Sons of the Revolution, and the Rochester Historical Society, Rochester, N. Y.

Three-quarters of a century have elapsed since the death of one of the most forceful and distinguished men of the Revolutionary period. We, of today, are in a position not only to see clearly, to judge dispassionately, and to estimate at its true value every important event occurring prior to, or during the progress of the American Revolution, but also to assign to each prominent actor his true place and appropriate distinction in those events, far removed as we are from the smoke and din of the conflict of those stirring days of which we speak.

In order to more fully appreciate Mr. Jay's character, it will first be requisite to take a brief, comprehensive survey of *some* of the underlying causes and conditions prevailing in this country at the period in which he lived, associated as his life was with so much of grave import, and of deep significance, in what is undoubtedly the most remarkable period of our national history.

By many casual readers, or those who have not studied the matter very closely, it is too commonly thought that upon the successful

issues of the contest with the mother country rests the chief glory of the Revolution. The student of history finds it to be far otherwise. The seeds of the Revolution were sown broadcast in the circumstances and character of the early colonies. Events—many of far-reaching significance—that occurred from time to time during the whole of that formative period were singularly prophetic of all that was to follow. There was a long train of events leading up to the establishment of constitutional freedom in this country. Parliament very early began to pass arbitrary, repressive laws against the colonial subjects of England on this side of the Atlantic, but which were very difficult of enforcement, and became more so as time went on, as the great power in the north—France—grew more and more threatening. The presence of the French in Canada was of the greatest possible help to the colonists, enabling them to disregard laws which otherwise England might have most thoroughly carried out.

Let me recite only three instances bearing upon this point; there are many others. As early as 1650, the navigation law was enacted under the auspices of Cromwell. It was aimed in the first place at the West Indies, and to stop the profitable trade with the Dutch, but its provisions were such that it included the American colonies. By them it was resisted as a direct encroachment on their rights, and although Great Britain made strong efforts to enforce this law for over a century, none the less they were unable to do so.

In 1731, the House of Commons called upon the Board of Trade and Plantations to make a report "with respect to any laws made, manufactures set up, or trade carried on in the colonies, detrimental to the trade, navigation, and manufactures of Great Britain." Then it was that the astounding discovery was made that hats had been manufactured in New England, not only for domestic use, but for exportation. Forthwith, in the reign of George the Second, a law was passed forbidding hats or felts to be exported from the colonies, or even "to be loaded on a horse, cart, or other carriage for transportation from one plantation to another." In other words, the wings of these aspiring colonists must be closely clipped.

Nineteen years later another iniquitous law was passed by Parliament, prohibiting "the erection or continuance of any mill or other engine for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge, to work with a tilt hammer, or any furnace for making steel, in the colonies, under penalty of two hundred pounds. Every such mill, engine, forge, or furnace, was declared a common nuisance, which the governors of the provinces, on information, were bound to abate, under penalty of five hundred pounds, within thirty days."

This system of legislative oppression caused wide spread discontent, merging into a most rebellious spirit against the mother country.

Then, again, consider for a moment the harrassing French and Indian wars in the latter half of the 18th century, which caused incessant trouble, anxiety and loss to the colonists who received no help from the mother country. Parliament knew that they would be forced to defend themselves, keep intact their possessions, and repel their dreaded and relentless foe, relying confidently upon them to do so. After a long and arduous struggle success crowned the efforts of the colonists, but no aid came from England. A spend-

thrift court, and the costly continental wars, constantly depleted the British treasury, and made heavy demands upon the people. Hence Parliament imposed the cost of the war in increasing taxation, with the result that submission to such unjust demands became daily more and more unbearable.

Finally, the yoke that England had laid upon her North American colonies extending over a long period became too galling to be borne. From this yoke many were hoping to free themselves, when an incident occurred in the onward march of progress most trivial in the beginning, but proving to be the prologue of the act that led to the war for independence.

The stamp-tax levied by an Act of the London Parliament was vigorously resisted by the colonists and payment refused, the result being that the odious tax was repealed the following year, and in its stead a tax was put upon tea which was not more successful in its working. The hour of separation between Great Britain and America was close at hand.

It should be borne in mind that during the long ante-revolutionary period, the Americans had grown up not only self-reliant and aggressive, but semi-independent, disposing of any element of tyranny or undue restraint in English laws or regulations, by simply disobeying them. The independent spirit among the colonists was being rapidly developed.

In December, 1773, several English vessels with cargoes of tea having entered the port of Boston, some thirty or forty of its residents disguised as Indians got on board the ships, broke open, and threw overboard, about three hundred cases of tea valued at 15,000 pounds sterling.

The outbreak was deliberately planned by Samuel Adams, Hancock, and other daring spirits, with one great object in view, and though not the *immediate* cause of the war it was of sufficient importance to force England to take severe repressive measures which at an early day brought both countries—England and America—into a long, bitter, and decisive contest on the one great question which lay beneath so many years of controversy.

Everything was conducted by these courageous, determined men in a pre-arranged and orderly manner, and not the slightest attempt was made by the Governor, the fleet, or the army, to interfere with the lawless work of the patriots whose doings were, however, confined solely to the destruction of the tea. It is said, that the English admiral of the fleet is reported to have stood in the street as the crowd returned, good-naturedly joked with them, remarking, that having had their sport they might soon have to pay the piper.

While the Tea Party news was on the way to England and retaliation measures in due course were traveling back, no Tory in Boston or vicinity had the temerity to offer his neighbor a drink of tea unless positively sure of said neighbor's political sentiments. A writer in *Rivington's Gazette* relates, that being at a tavern he asked the landlord for a dish of tea. The boniface winked, and ordered the maid to bring in some "white coffee," the dish of white coffee turning out to be the most delicious tea.

As an act of punishment for rebellious resistance to the tax, Parliament immediately passed five Acts, all in April, 1774, which were put in operation the following month. The most serious was

the Boston Port Bill which closed that port to commerce until the town should indemnify the East India Company for the loss of its tea, and the unruly inhabitants become truly submissive to King George. The second Act annulling the Charter of Massachusetts granted by the Crown nearly a century and a half before, was another extremely serious mistake on the part of the British parliament, while the three remaining acts which it is not necessary to specify at this time, only added fresh fuel to the fire that burned in patriotic breasts, that American liberty should not be fettered. The spirit of resistance became intensified; the people prepared for war, and sixteen months later the clash of arms was heard at Lexington.

This country, however, had many strong friends in England who sought to avert the impending crisis: Lord Chatham, Burke, and many others, but all to no avail. On the 22d of March, 1775, Burke uttered these kindly words, "My hold of the colonies is in the close affection which grows from common names, from kindred blood, from similar privileges, and equal protection. These are ties which, though light as air, are as strong as links of iron." On the nineteenth of the very next month the curtain rose on one of the mightiest dramas in the world's history.

When the news of that eventful day reached England, it touched many a generous English heart. In this connection, I recall a story told by the late Edward Everett, our Minister to the Court of St. James some fifty years ago. He said: "I often heard in England a gentleman of great literary eminence say, that when the tidings of the 19th of April arrived, his father, with a sorrowful countenance, announced it to the family assembled at prayers. He then ordered a suit of full mourning. Some one asked him if he had lost a friend—a relative! 'Yes,' was the answer, 'many friends, many brethren, at one blow, in Lexington and Concord, in America.'"

Events moved rapidly in that memorable year. Boston and the neighboring provinces rose in arms; England determined to reduce its rebellious colonies by force, resulting in the Americans resolving to break irrevocably with the mother-country. On the fourth of July, 1776, Congress proclaimed the Independence of the States of North America. After the colonies once became united in resistance the issue of the protracted struggle could hardly have terminated other than it did.

Having ended in triumph then it was that a danger arose such as had depended upon no battle of the Revolution. A nation had been born without a national government. A people widely scattered, and in many ways widely diverse, elated by a successful resistance to law and authority, were called upon to be a law unto themselves. The war with its glory and feverish excitement had passed; poverty and desolation were on every hand; the land burdened with a heavy debt, the country convulsed by the jealousies of ambitious men, discontent prevailing among the people, all conspired to make a fearful crisis when the attempt was made to form a national government. The events which followed show how dire for a time was the crisis impending over the confederated states.

When a people whose only bond of union was sympathy, flowing from common suffering and common resistance of authority, voluntarily adopted a form of government which made them one nation, combining liberty with security, when the discontented avoided an-

archy, and the ambitious yielded up their schemes of individual power, seeking and finding a remedy in a peaceable submission to authority, the crowning glory of the Revolution was consummated. The adoption of the Federal Constitution was a more momentous event than the renowned Declaration of Rights, or the great victory at Yorktown, which terminated the contest. Therefore, it is well for us in this day of retrospect to call to mind and venerate those remarkable men who gave a right direction to public opinion; who subdued local and individual jealousies, and from the chaos of jarring elements formed and established a government suited to their country.

Foremost among this group of eminent and able men stands out John Jay, a name synonymous with justice, ardent love of country, single-hearted purity of life and action, combined with well-grounded principles, stronger than power, stronger than temptation.

The grandfather of John Jay, Augustus Jay, was a Frenchman, a Huguenot merchant of Rochelle in France, living in the reign of Louis XIV., a reign that for upwards of thirty years was unparalleled for splendor in the annals of that nation. When, however, after the masterful Mazarin and the great Colbert were no more; when the renowned Turenne had fallen on the bloody field at Saltback, and the distinguished Conde was in seclusion at Chantilly where he died, then it was that Louis listened to evil counsels, and the star of his fortunes began to decline.

First among the striking events of this era of errors and misfortunes was the revocation of the edict of Nantes, originally promulgated by Henry of Navarre, opening the way to a glorious career for France of national prosperity and greatness, afterwards to be so unfortunately and unwisely terminated by his degenerate grandson.

While Augustus was absent on a voyage to Africa, his father, Pierre Jay, had been compelled on account of the religious persecutions to which I have alluded, and which deluged France with blood, to abandon his property in his native country and seek an asylum in England. Augustus Jay arriving home upon his return from Africa about 1685—the latter part of the seventeenth century—learning the sad, unhappy state of affairs, and the fate of his father, decided to emigrate to America. He had the good fortune to find a vessel bound for Charleston, South Carolina, which port he reached safely, and where for a time he abode. Afterwards he went to New York, settling there permanently, marrying in 1697 Miss Bayard, one of whose ancestors had been a Protestant professor of theology in Paris in the reign of Louis XIII., and who was driven from France by the Jesuit persecutions.

Peter Jay, son of Augustus, and the father of John Jay, married in 1728 Miss Van Cortland, whose ancestors had been driven by similar persecutions from Bohemia. Thus it was that thousands of the most enterprising merchants and the most skilful artisans—men of whom the old world were not worthy—were obliged to flee to this new world, while still others sought refuge from their fierce persecutors in Switzerland, Germany, Holland and England. Therefore it also was, that “the resolute industry of one nation, the inventive skill and curious arts of another, the courage, conscience, principle, self-denial of all was winnowed out, by the prevailing governments as a precious seed wherewith to plant the American soil.”

Of such, in brief, were the characteristics of the high-minded an-

cestors of John Jay, and through them we have the key to the splendid traits of John Jay's lofty and symmetrical character. At the age of nineteen young Jay graduated from King's, afterwards Columbia College, entering at once upon the study of law in the city of New York. At twenty-three he was admitted to the bar and almost immediately acquired a lucrative practice, having formed a partnership with Robert R. Livingston, afterward Chancellor of the State of New York. In 1774 he married the daughter of William Livingston, Governor of New Jersey, a charming, cultured, gentle and affectionate woman, the grace and ornament not only of the salons of Madrid and Paris, but of his American home; ever the faithful, devoted friend, the disinterested adviser.

I do not purpose this evening to recount in detail the life and varied achievements of John Jay; of the many posts of honor which he filled with such signal ability; of his services as chairman of the Committee of Public Safety; a most arduous post and one of great responsibility; nor of all he accomplished as Secretary of Foreign Affairs for two years while the seat of government was in New York. A most important position in every respect as the entire correspondence with foreign governments, and with states was conducted by him, added to the fact that when Congress was not in session he was, in truth, the executive head of the Confederation. Nor shall I tell you anything of his administration for six years as the second Governor of our State, during which time he became identified with the first effort made towards the abolition of slavery in the State of New York; of his election as Chief Justice of the State, and afterwards of his appointment by Washington as Chief Justice of the United States; but rather to describe as briefly, and yet as clearly as possible, three of the notable acts of his life in which he bore such a conspicuous part, and any one of which would alone entitle him to a high place on the roll of illustrious men for whose signal and distinguished services we are justly proud.

The War of Independence was fought to maintain the great distinguishing principle of the British Constitution tersely expressed in this short sentence, "Taxation and representation are inseparable." The English Parliament claimed the right to levy taxes of all kinds on the American colonies; the colonies on the other hand claimed they were not represented in Parliament, and ought not to be taxed by that body. This in its condensed form was the issue upon which the appeal to arms was made.

In July, 1774, Mr. Jay was elected a member of the Continental Congress which met in September of that year at Carpenter's Hall in the city of Philadelphia. Although the youngest of the delegates but one—he was only twenty-nine—he took a prominent part in the proceedings and when convinced by the course of events that independence was absolutely necessary,—at first having been strongly opposed to such a course in common with many others,—he embraced the measure with zeal and gave it unqualified support. At the same time his influence was always exercised to moderate the resentment of the people against those loyalists who took up arms against the patriots, and to ameliorate the condition of those suffering imprisonment. In a word his Christianity was always to the front. The following incident is illustrative on this point. A gentleman of New York working under a royal commission, was by the adverse changes

and chances of war, made a prisoner and confined in the jail at Hartford, Conn. While there Mr. Jay wrote him as follows: "How far your situation may be comfortable and easy I know not. It is my wish, and shall be my endeavor, that it be as much so as may be consistent with the interest of that great cause to which I have devoted everything I hold dear in the world. I have taken the liberty of requesting Mr. Samuel Broome immediately to advance you \$100 on my account."

When we consider in passing, the intense hatred which the Whigs or Patriots bore towards the Loyalists* or Tories, the beauty and Christian spirit of Mr. Jay's action stand out more conspicuously. The persecutions which the Loyalists endured at the hands of their Whig neighbors almost pass belief. Tarred and feathered; gagged and bound and maltreated; money and valuable plate extorted from them; carted about for the mob to stare at and heaping abuse upon the poor unfortunates; intimidated, plundered, insulted and exiled, mayhap carried off and confined in some of the numerous prisons which were all places of horror, theirs was indeed an unhappy lot. The worst of all these terrible prisons was the famous Simsbury mine in Connecticut, which was just as horrible as the worst of the British prison ships. Even the Tory humorist was put under the ban, as witness the case of the Loyalist who had given his word not to injure the American cause, but who was afterwards accused of intimating that Americans had no right to make any demands of the King and Parliament. His chief offense was that he had humorously called his dog "Tory," thus intimating, perhaps, that the Tory led a dog's life. For this rank offense the culprit escaped with only a reprimand from the court, as he had stated that he was under the influence of drink when he called the animal such a name.

The reverse side to this humor of the day was the acrimonious sayings that were uttered by the Tories in the heat and passion of the moment amid the distracting tumults of the time. These had the effect of inciting the Whigs to take greater umbrage; but today, many of those remarks will only provoke a smile. To illustrate this point I may name the sharp-tongued Tory, who had the temerity to assert that Mrs. Washington had a huge cat with thirteen yellow rings around his tail, and that his waving it back and forth suggested to the Congress the adoption of the same number of stripes for the rebel flag. Continental paper money came in for general aspersion by the Tories, as "worthless rags," or, as a "cheap form of papering for the walls of a house," for "kindling fires," or "lighting pipes." "The truth was," says a recent writer, "that Loyalists were no greater sinners in that regard than Patriots, but, at that time, Loyalists were scapegoats for every ill in the state. The Patriot, however, confined his disapproval to refusing the bills or allowing about two cents on the dollar."† This was in 1780. The antagonism between the Whigs and Tories was intense throughout the war. Indeed in our own

* A good deal of attention has been paid by the writer of this paper to the Loyalists, because they were very strong and very active in this State—as well as elsewhere—throughout the war, causing infinite trouble and annoyance to the patriots.

† Prof. Flick's "Loyalism in New York," page 101. Ryerson's "Loyalists of America," vol. ii, page 262.

State it assumed such a phase that it may almost be termed a religious struggle. The Dissenters were nearly all Whigs, and as Congregationalists or Presbyterians were the followers of the Livingstons, while the Loyalists were—with but few exceptions—adherents of the De Lanceys and belonged to the Church of England. The bitterness between these two parties became so intensified that finally the Loyalists were overwhelmed in utter ruin.

As a student of this interesting subject has said, "the formation of the Tory or Loyalist party in the American Revolution; its persecution by the Whigs during a long and fratricidal war, and the death or banishment of over one hundred thousand of these most conservative and respectable Americans, is a tragedy but rarely paralleled in the history of the world. . . . Whatever may have been the result of their elimination, however, the story of the origin and evolution of the party can lose none of its dramatic interest."^{*}

If we take a dispassionate survey of the Loyalist party from ante-Revolutionary days to the times when loyalty to the King meant treason to the new nation, and exile or death, the conclusion seems to be inevitable, that had the party possessed a thorough organization and cohesive power, the history of this part of America might have been altogether a different story. It is true, that organized opposition was finally effected, but it happily came too late to prove much of a barrier, for even when outnumbered the active minority carried all before them. It is the old story, but one of intensest interest, of the inaction of conservatism, and the push and go of radicalism.

New York became the stronghold of the Tory party, a party whose members had an inherited reverence for everything pertaining to royalty, and but little sympathy with the Revolutionary movement. Numerous outrages occurred on both sides, but they were incidental to the stress and movement of the times. It is not strange, that the Tories who were generally the oppressed, and the greatest sufferers, as has been shown, sought, when opportunity offered to make reprisals and retaliate in every way possible.

The subject has a peculiar interest for us inasmuch as organized bands of Loyalists hung along the Canadian frontier in 1775 and '76, and for several years thereafter, biding their time for dire revenge.† When Burgoyne made his campaign, St. Leger, with Sir John Johnson's "Loyal Greens" and Butler's dreaded "Tory Rangers," descended from Niagara and fought the sanguinary and murderous battle of Oriskany. Shortly after, the patriot forces succeeded in driving back their relentless foe from whence they came, but in a few months they returned the scourge of the New York frontier. The work of destruction by the "Rangers" and the "Greens" aided by their Indian allies, is remembered to this day all through the Mohawk valley, and in the lovely valley of Wyoming.

The records of the Committee of Safety show great activity in dealing with the Tories. Mr. Jay, as previously stated, was for a

^{*} Many books of absorbing interest with reference to the Loyalists can be referred to, notably, Prof. Flick's "Loyalism in New York," Sabine's "American Loyalists," "New York in the Revolution," Ryerson's "Loyalists of America," "Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist," by Elizabeth Johnston, and so forth.

† Flick, "Loyalism in New York," p. 101.

time a prominent member of that committee, which by the way exercised nearly uncontrolled and undefined executive functions. Justice and mercy went together hand in hand with John Jay. At a later period, when the social and political conditions of the times became more and more unsettled; when disfranchisement and expatriation of the Tories, as well as the confiscation of their property were the order of the day, Mr. Jay, then in Paris, wrote to Alexander Hamilton, declaring that "violence and associations against the Tories pay an ill compliment to government, and impeach our good faith in the opinion of some, and our magnanimity in the opinion of many. The Tories are almost as much pitied in these countries as they are execrated in ours; an undue degree of severity toward them would, therefore, be impolitic as it would be unjustifiable. They, who incline to involve that whole class of men in indiscriminate punishment and ruin, certainly carry the matter too far. It would be an instance of unnecessary rigor and unmanly revenge, without a parallel, except in the annals of religious bigotry and blindness. Victory and peace should in my mind be followed by clemency, moderation and benevolence, and we should be careful not to sully the glory of the Revolution by licentiousness and cruelty."

As late as 1801, Tories were disfranchised in Pennsylvania, and it was not until after the War of 1812, that laws against the Tories disappeared from the statute books.

Leaving this interesting phase of the Revolutionary period, we will now take up the first of the three acts in Mr. Jay's career which come under the present scope of this paper, following in due order with the remaining two.

In 1779, Mr. Jay was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain, whither he was sent with two specific objects in view, one being to obtain a loan of five million of dollars, and the other to secure the right to the free navigation of the Mississippi. After much strenuous effort on his part, financial assistance to some extent was obtained, but the Spanish King, Philip V., declined to recognize the independence of the American colonies, or even to make a treaty with them unless they would relinquish their claims to navigation of the Mississippi. This Mr. Jay declined to do. While these negotiations, which had consumed considerable time, were still pending, Mr. Jay was appointed by Congress one of the commissioners to conclude a peace with Great Britain which required him to leave Madrid and proceed to Paris; this he did promptly, arriving in the French capital on the twenty-third of June, 1782. The other commissioners with whom he was to act were Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, and Laurens. Of his colleagues Dr. Franklin alone was there, Jefferson having been detained at Monticello by the delicate health of his wife; Adams was in Holland negotiating a loan, while Henry Laurens had been captured on the high seas and was closely incarcerated in the tower of London. On Franklin and Jay the primary formation of the treaty therefore developed.

Dr. Franklin had long been accredited to the Court of Versailles where, by a happy union of great simplicity of manners combined with much wisdom and a genial flow of wit, he had been made much of by the French people, and become an object of singular admiration and affection. Never was there a more popular ambassador. Snuff-boxes, fans, etc., had his face reproduced on them, and

everything for a time was *a la Franklin*. Now the instructions of Congress to the commissioners were, that they should follow in all things the advice of the Count de Vergennes, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. This wily and astute statesman had early persuaded Dr. Franklin that as England was not willing to formally acknowledge the independence of his country his best course would be to accept a truce for twenty years, and Franklin had not only acquiesced in this opinion, but was maturing the terms of this remarkable truce. At this juncture, Mr. Jay arrived in Paris from Madrid, and was not slow to see what the effects of such a course would be, nor the source from which they emanated. It soon became evident to Mr. Jay that France was unwilling that terms of peace should be concluded, unless they subverted her interests—she was looking out for number one,—and through his persuasion and influence his colleagues—Adams having returned from Holland—were induced to unite with him in disregarding the instructions of Congress.

Fenimore Cooper in his "Notions of the Americans," published anonymously in London in 1828, and which he wrote to correct the numerous false impressions regarding American characteristics, which he found prevailing in England, says, in effect, that Mr. Jay took a step which was as remarkable for its boldness as for its good sense. He wrote with his own hand to the English Secretary of State pointing out the bad consequences to England herself, if she adhered to her present policy; that by keeping the truce suspended over America, she forced his country to lean on France for support; on the other hand, by admitting her at once into the rank of nations, England would obtain a valuable customer, and might also secure a natural friend. These, and other cogent reasons, prevailed with the English minister who dispatched a courier to the English commissioner, Mr. Oswald, to conclude a treaty and acknowledge the independence of the United States. Mr. Cooper says, "Finding themselves embarrassed by the evasions of Count de Vergennes, believing they were betrayed, in the spirit of their alliance at least, and knowing that France could not find the smallest difficulty in settling her own affairs without their agency, the American commissioners proceeded to sign a treaty of peace, in the very teeth of their instructions, without the knowledge of the French minister."

Mr. Jay saw his line of duty and pursued it, although in opposition to his instructions which he was forced to disobey; he saw that to secure the recognition of the new republic from England was of the first importance to this country, and he went forward with the same deliberation as he did in giving an order to relieve a royalist in jail.

Mr. Jay after an absence of eight years returned to New York in July, 1784. The freedom of the city was presented to him in a gold box with an address by the corporation, in token of the signal services he had rendered to the colonies during the long contest for independence, and in the negotiations in which he had taken so prominent and so successful a part. It is worthy of mention in connection with the treaty just referred to, that Mr. Jay resolutely and stoutly refused to treat with the British Commissioners, although his associates were inclined to yield the point, unless the independence of the

colonies was conceded by acknowledging their representatives as the Commissioners of the United States of America.

It is also worthy of note, that a few years earlier he had opposed the invasion of Canada during the early years of the Revolutionary struggle, preferring, doubtless, to have it remain under the dominion of Great Britain, than see it pass into the hands of France, which would probably have been the case had Arnold's ill-starred expedition to Quebec proved successful. The great body of the Canadian people—to their credit be it said—preferred to remain neutral in the dispute between America and England, but Congress unfortunately mistook the reluctance of the Canadians to engage in active operations against them, and determined to strike a blow at the British by the capture of Quebec, and thus command the navigation of the St. Lawrence. The utter defeat of the project ended the invasion of Canada.

We come now to the second act of the drama, the formation of the Federal Constitution. The Union delivered from any imminent danger was, however, in a helpless, distracted state, unable to command either tranquility at home or respect abroad. Congress had power to make treaties, but not to enforce their observance; to contract debts, but not to pay them. Public securities were fearfully reduced in value, and private property greatly depreciated from the almost utter lack of proper protection. "Our affairs," said Mr. Jay in a letter of June 27th, "seem to lead to some crisis, some revolution—something that I cannot foresee or conjecture. I am uneasy and apprehensive, more so than during the war." This letter, addressed to Washington, is long and interesting, and Washington's reply is so able that I wish I could quote it in full, but as time forbids, the opening paragraph alone will be given. He says: "Your sentiments, that our affairs are drawing rapidly to a crisis, accord with my own. What the event will be, is also beyond the reach of my foresight. We have errors to correct; we have had probably too good an opinion of human nature in forming our confederation. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures the best calculated for their own good, without the intervention of coercive power. I do not conceive we can exist long as a nation, without lodging somewhere a power which will pervade the whole Union in as energetic a manner as the authority of the State governments extend over the several States." At this time, Washington had retired from the command of the army and was living at Mt. Vernon.

While the war lasted there was a fervent patriotism constituting a bond which held the Government together; with the return of peace its dissolution became imminent. A lawless spirit prevailed, especially in the last place where it might be looked for—New England. A communistic theory became prevalent that all having contributed to defend the national property, all had an equal right to its possession. Discontent was general. Social and political conditions were unsettled. Bodies of armed malcontents interrupted the sessions of the courts at Exeter, New Hampshire, Northampton and Worcester, Mass., and at other places. These disturbances finally culminated in the famous Shay's rebellion in Massachusetts. Daniel Shay, with about 2000 followers, bade defiance not only to Congress, but the State authorities as well. They asked for the suspension of

taxes; the remission of paper money, with a general scheme in their minds for a division of property. They marched to attack the arsenal, but the outbreak was crushed by Gen. Lincoln and other officers, and this so thoroughly, that the malcontents were dispersed in every direction. The scourge of anarchy was wiped out effectually.

The wise and able leaders of the people were at a loss, however, to find a remedy at once practicable and consistent. Providentially, measures were taken in Virginia at this time, which though originating in different views, ended in a proposition for a general convention upon the subject of forming a national government.

Washington some years previously had formed a plan in his mind for the uniting of the Potomac and the Ohio, thus connecting the eastern and western waters, his idea being to demonstrate the practicability and policy of diverting not only the fur trade, but the trade or commerce generally that must in time come from the great primeval western country and bringing it to the Atlantic cities, especially in view of the fact that the Mississippi would be opened by Spain. For this purpose he had made a journey of six hundred and eighty miles on horseback taking minute and copious notes of everything that could aid his project. His influence, and the immense importance of the scheme induced the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland to send commissioners to Alexandria to deliberate upon this important matter. They met in March, 1785, and while at Mt. Vernon on a visit, they determined to recommend another commission with reference to establishing a tariff of duties on imports. The Virginian legislature agreed to this, and invited other states to send delegates to meet at Annapolis. It is a very interesting fact that the proposition in which the convention that formed the Constitution originated, should have been made at Mt. Vernon, and in Washington's presence. Mt. Vernon may, therefore, be regarded as the Cradle of the Constitution, as Faneuil Hall is the Cradle of Liberty.

The result of the meeting at Annapolis was, that a report and address were sent to all the provincial assemblies, strongly representing the inefficiency of the present Federal Government, and urging them most earnestly to send delegates to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787. Fortunately, Congress passed resolutions recommending this measure, although the results were undoubtedly different from what had been anticipated.

The states responded to this call, and at the date appointed the delegates were in attendance. Never, probably, in the history of this country, was there ever a convention composed of more distinguished and able statesmen; men of more exalted character, and more signal abilities. Of this remarkable body, Washington, who appeared at the head of the Virginian deputation, was unanimously elected President. The convention was held merely to revise the articles of confederation, yet they had not deliberated long before they determined that the existing Congress must be entirely thrown overboard, but what to substitute in its place was the vital question of the hour.

The convention remained in session four months, and the devotion of the delegates to their important work is evidenced by the fact that they sat from four to seven hours a day.

George Ticknor Curtis says in his "History of the Constitution of the United States": "It was a most fortunate thing for America

that the Revolutionary age, with its hardships, its trials, and its mistakes, had formed a body of statesmen capable of framing for it a durable constitution. The leading persons in the convention which formed the Constitution had been actors, either in civil or military life, in the scenes of the Revolution. In those scenes their characters, as American statesmen, had been formed. When the condition of the country had fully revealed the incapacity of the government to provide for its wants, these men were naturally looked to to construct a system which should save it from anarchy. And their great capacities, their high disinterested purposes, their freedom from all fanaticism and illiberality, and their earnest, unconquerable faith in the destiny of the country, enabled them to found that government which now upholds and protects the whole fabric of liberty in the States of this Union."

On the 17th of September, 1787, the new Constitution was signed by the members and forwarded to Congress. By that body it was sent to the several states to be submitted to a convention of delegates to be chosen by the people for approval or rejection.

Now began a contest of more importance—as has been said in the early portion of this paper—of more importance than the Revolutionary war, and upon the issue of which more doubt was entertained. Mr. Jay at this supreme crisis did yeoman service. Upon the successful issue of the adoption of the Constitution hung the absolute salvation of the country. Yet, from various causes in the several States too numerous to mention at this time, there developed a strong and powerful opposition to its ratification. This was the case in our own State, as may be readily seen from the fact that when the New York delegation to decide upon the Constitution were elected, eleven were in favor of it, and forty-six against it. Jay was, of course, among the former, and his efforts to procure its adoption were unwearying and most efficient. His pen was exerted in defending and expounding the Constitution in those memorable papers of the *Federalist*, to which also Hamilton and Madison contributed, and the influence of which was felt from New Hampshire to Georgia. The whole country was vibrating with the contest. Patrick Henry in Virginia, denounced it as a revolution more radical than that which had separated America from Britain. In New Hampshire most of the delegates had been instructed to vote against it. Hancock, a noble patriot, opposed it without the admission of certain proposed amendments by which state rights might be more fully guarded. And so the contest went on. In addition to Mr. Jay's efforts for the benefit of the entire country, he and a few others were relied upon to bring this important State into line. Success at last crowned their efforts, and New York adopted the Constitution by the bare majority of *three*. It took many months before the convention of all the delegates from all the States took place, and when it did the Constitution was finally ratified by only the small majority of 187 to 168. In due course of time Washington was elected as President.

The adoption of the Constitution is considered by most writers—if not all—as the most wonderful, as well as the most important event in our history, and Mr. Jay's strenuous efforts to produce this result would alone entitle him to a high place in the exalted estimation of his countrymen.

Mr. Jay used to remark that if men would never forget that the world was under the guidance of a Providence which never erred, it would save much useless anxiety, and prevent a great many mistakes. This trust was the sure rock upon which he built, and was the foundation stone of the success he achieved during a long, busy and eventful life.

The third and last act to which your attention is called now opens. In 1794 Brother Jonathan was fearfully incensed against John Bull and impetuous Young America was clamoring lustily for war, although the country had not yet recovered from the long, exhausting Revolutionary struggle. The chief cause of this outbreak of popular indignation was the depredations of England upon our commerce, and its repeated violations of the treaty of 1783. A majority of the people of this nation unquestionably desired war; every exertion was made by them to increase the public agitation, and stimulate the resentments which were felt against Great Britain, while an alliance with Revolutionary France was ardently sought.

Washington, however, in this trying emergency determined to make one decisive effort for peace; to keep America out of the strife which was convulsing Europe. In this he was sustained by Jay, his trusted confidential friend and adviser. To us, at this day, the state of affairs was most astonishing. "The opposition," says Marshall, "were prepared to sacrifice the best interests of their country on the altar of the French Revolution; that they were willing to go to war for French, not American objects; that while they urged war, they withheld the means of supporting it, in order the more effectually to humble and disgrace the government; that they were so blinded by their passion for France, as to confound crimes with meritorious deeds, and to abolish the natural distinction between virtue and vice; that the principles which they propagated, and with which they sought to intoxicate the people, were, in practice, incompatible with the existence of government; that they were the apostles of anarchy, not of freedom; and were, consequently, not the friends of real and rational liberty."

Washington, fixed in his purpose to maintain peace with honor, nominated John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, as Envoy Extraordinary to Great Britain. This action was confirmed by the Senate. Writing to Mrs. Jay from Philadelphia he says: "This appointment is not of my seeking: on the contrary I regard it as a measure not to be desired, but to be submitted to. If it should please God to make me instrumental in the continuance of peace, and in preventing the effusion of blood, and other evils and miseries incident to war, we shall both have occasion to rejoice. Whatever may be the event, the endeavor will be virtuous, and consequently consolatory. Let us repose unlimited trust in our Maker. It is our business to adore and to obey."

Jay's name was sent into the Senate and confirmed. He sailed from New York on the 12th of May, 1794, and upon his arrival in London he was cordially received by the King and Lord Grenville, the British Minister.

The result of Mr. Jay's mission was the noted treaty which bears his name, concluded on the 19th of November, 1794. By its provisions the eastern boundary of Maine was determined; United States citizens received about ten millions for illegal capture by

British cruisers; the Western posts held by English garrisons to be surrendered; the reciprocity of inland trade and intercourse between the North American territories of the two nations ratified, including the navigation of the Mississippi, as well as numerous important articles of agreement pertaining to the general welfare and prosperity of the country. While the treaty was not all that Mr. Jay desired, yet it was the best that could be obtained. Nevertheless, it created a terrible storm of popular excitement, abuse, and misrepresentation in this country, but the Senate advised Washington to ratify it, which he did on the 14th of August, 1795.

The treaty was the means of saving America from the devastation of war, and secured her commercial prosperity combined with the blessings of peace. Had the popular party, and the partizans of France succeeded in having the treaty renounced, and the long-sought-for alliance with revolutionary France been made instead, this country would most certainly have been precipitated into a long and ruinous war. This evil was happily diverted through the wisdom of Jay and Washington.

Mr. Jay retired later on from the stirring scenes in which he had been a distinguished, successful and honored actor, to live at a delightful country home at Bedford, Westchester County, about fifty miles from the City of New York. Here he passed the remainder of his life, surrounded by warm, devoted friends—by children who revered and loved him. He died on the 17th of May, 1829, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

And so the curtain falls; the play is done; the lights are out, and only a memory is left us, but a memory imperishable, and that fadeth not away.

In the words of a writer who has also passed to the other side: "When the world shall have sickened, and it is beginning to do so, of those great men who have sported with the passions, hopes and wants of humanity, and analyzes before it commends—when it seeks a model to live by, rather than a hero to worship, and brazen-faced intellectual selfishness shall have given place to public spirit, and statesman and Christian shall have become synonymous terms, then will the country be grateful for the example, as well as the services of John Jay."

His was a life whose purity and integrity are well commemorated in this sentence by Daniel Webster: "When the spotless ermine of the judicial robe fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

To sum up briefly the character of this eminent American: He had many sterling qualities of heart and mind, and a dauntless courage which never faltered; he had fine intellectual powers and administrative ability, allied with an earnestness of purpose which overcame all obstacles; a love of justice and fair play inherent in his very nature; a true patriot without fear and without reproach; a devotion to home and country which was intense; possessing an instinctive morality and strong belief in an overruling Providence, these all combined, made him not only a most noteworthy man in his day and generation, but entitle him to be ever held in grateful remembrance.

THE STATUE OF DAVID.

Notable among the possessions of the Buffalo Historical Society and the city of Buffalo—notable indeed among the art treasures of America—is the bronze replica of Michael Angelo's statue of David, which within the past year has been set up in Delaware Park. The statue and pedestal are the gift of the President of the Society, Mr. Andrew Langdon, whose numerous other gifts, including the bronze doors for the north entrance of the Historical Building, the marble bust of Washington, an antique carved chair from Switzerland, etc., have repeatedly testified to his generous devotion to the welfare and promotion of the institution.

The statue in question is an exact replica, in bronze, of the original, one of the world's renowned masterpieces of art, the "David" of Michael Angelo, in Florence. This replica was made by the firm of Angelis & Sons, bronze founders, of Naples. Exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1900, it was awarded the grand prize in its class; the medal of award is now in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society. (See accompanying engravings.)

During a sojourn in Europe, in 1902, Mr. Langdon saw the statue, and opened negotiations for its purchase, finally securing it for America, and with it an agreement on the part of the founders that no other replica of the statue should ever be sent by them to this country. It is the only copy of the "David" in America, and one of the three in bronze in the world. The original marble, which stood for nearly 400 years in the Piazza in Florence, is now in the Academy of Fine Arts in that city. A bronze replica stands in the Piazza Michael Angelo, in the suburbs of Florence, overlooking the city. The only other replica stands in front of the Rathhaus in Copenhagen. The promoters of art in some other American cities were desirous of securing this statue, but Mr. Langdon refused all overtures in the matter, and sent the bronze to his home city. His original offer to Buffalo was to present the statue to the city, if the municipality would provide a suitable pedestal. Some time elapsing without decisive action on the part of the city authorities, Mr. Langdon offered to furnish the pedestal himself; making the complete gift jointly to the Historical Society and the city. The site that was finally selected is a commanding knoll, heretofore known as the Concourse, in Delaware Park, at the right of the main drive, going north, near Park Lake Bridge, overlooking the lake, and not far from the Historical Building and the Albright Art Gallery. Here the statue was erected, without ceremony or any presentation exercises, this being Mr.



GOLD MEDAL AWARDED TO S. DE ANGELIS & SON, NAPLES, AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION, 1900, FOR THEIR
BRONZE REPLICA OF MICHAEL ANGELO'S "DAVID," NOW IN DELAWARE PARK, BUFFALO.



Langdon's wish, in the fall of 1903. An illustration of the statue as it now stands forms the frontispiece of this volume.

Official acknowledgment of Mr. Langdon's munificent gift, on behalf of the city, is contained in the following letter:

OFFICE OF THE PARK COMMISSIONERS,
Room 5, City and County Hall,
BUFFALO, Sept. 15, 1903.

ANDREW LANGDON, Esq.:

Dear Sir—I am instructed by the Park Commissioners to express to you their appreciation of your generous public spirit in contributing to the attractions of our city the bronze copy of Michael Angelo's celebrated statue of David. They also desire to thank you for allowing the statue to be placed in Delaware Park, thus adding to the beautiful features of that delightful section of the park system.

Your untiring efforts secured to the city the magnificent home of the Historical Society and that and your latest contribution for the admiration and instruction of the people have made the citizens of Buffalo greatly your debtors, not only for what you have done directly for the general good, but for the stimulus it will give to public benefactions on the part of liberal citizens.

Yours respectfully,

G. H. SELKIRK, Secretary.

The acknowledgment of the gift, made by the Board of Managers of the Historical Society, is shown by the following extract from the minutes of a board meeting, held November 5, 1903:

Mr. Henry A. Richmond called Vice-President Stringer to the chair, and addressing President Langdon, said:

"Mr. Langdon, your associates in the Board of Managers of the Buffalo Historical Society desire to put on record an acknowledgment of your gift to this Society, and to the City of Buffalo, of the bronze statue of Michael Angelo's 'David,' which through your munificence has been lately set up in the Park near this building.

"We desire further to express, not merely our gratitude, but our appreciation of the liberality and the public spirit which you have repeatedly shown, in gifts to this institution; gifts every one of which adds to the art treasures of our Society and our City, constitutes a new source of enjoyment, and is a new means of culture, to the people of this community.

"It would have been our pleasure to arrange and carry out a programme of suitable exercises, with a public unveiling of this great work of art. We appreciate, however, the reasons, and respect the modesty, which led you to ask that this should not be done. It only remains for us, therefore, to address you, not only in behalf of the Society but in behalf of the whole goodly company of your appreciative and grateful fellow-citizens, and to say for them all, 'Mr. Langdon, we thank you.'"

Mr. Larned, Dr. Briggs and others spoke, in appreciation of Mr. Langdon's gift. Mr. Letchworth moved, and Mr. Bennett seconded the motion, that Mr. Richmond's remarks be entered on the Society's records as the expression of the Board. Unanimously carried.

The bronze statue itself is seventeen feet high and weighs 4,000 pounds. The die on which it rests weighs about 38,000 pounds. The pedestal and base raise the bronze about nine feet from the ground, which is terraced up some three feet, making the total elevation of the statue about twenty-nine feet. On the front of the pedestal is the simple inscription:

DAVID
MICHAEL ANGELO.
1474-1563.

On the back of the pedestal are these words:

PRESENTED
TO
THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND
THE CITY OF BUFFALO
BY
ANDREW LANGDON
MCMIII.

The history of the original statue, and its great renown as an art work, make warrantable the insertion here of the following extracts from the "Michael Angelo Buonarroti" of the eminent art critic, Mr. Charles Holroyd:

"In August, 1501, Michael Angelo began the colossal statue of 'David,' that used to stand in the Piazza and is now in the Academy at Florence. The first contract for this work, signed between Michael Angelo, the Arte della Lana, and the Opera del Duomo, is dated Aug. 16, 1501. It states 'that the worthy master, Michael Angelo, son of Lodovico Buonarroti, citizen of Florence, has been chosen to fashion, complete and perfectly finish the male statue, already roughly hewn and called the giant, of nine cubits in height now existing in the workshop of the Cathedral, badly blocked out aforetime by Master Agostino of Florence. The work shall be completed within the term of the next ensuing two years, dating from September, at a salary of six golden florins per month; and whatever is needful for the accomplishment of his task, as workmen, wood, etc., which he may require, shall be supplied by the said operai, and when the said statue is finished the consuls and operai who shall be in office, shall estimate whether he deserve a larger recompense and this shall be left to their consciences.'

"Michael Angelo began to work in a wooden shed, erected for that purpose near the cathedral, on Monday morning, September 13, 1501, and the 'David' is said to be almost entirely finished in a note dated Jan. 25, 1503, when a solemn council of the most important artists then residing in Florence met at the Opera del Duomo to consider where the statue should be placed. What an original way of deciding aesthetic questions! They came to the admirable conclusion that the choice of the site should be left to Michael Angelo. . . .

"Michael Angelo elected to have his 'David' set up on the steps of the Palazzo Vecchio, on the right side of the entrance. . . . Il Cronaca, Antonio da San Gallo, Baccio d'Agnolo, Bernado della Cecca and Michael Angelo were associated in the task of transporting the giant from the workshop near the Duomo to the Piazza della Signoria. It was encased in planks, and suspended upright from great beams.

"On May 14, 1504, the marble giant was dragged from the opera. It came out at 24 o'clock and they broke the wall above the door enough to let it pass. That night some stones were thrown at the Colossus with intent to injure it; a watch had to be set over it at night, and it made way very slowly, bound as it was upright, sus-

pended so that the feet were off the ground by enormous beams with much ingenuity. It took four days to reach the Piazza, arriving on the eleventh at the hour of 12. More than forty men were employed to make it go and there were fourteen logs to go beneath it which were changed from hand to hand. Afterward they worked until June 18, 1504, to place it on a pedestal, where the Judith used to stand. Then Judith was removed and set upon the ground within the palace. The said giant was the work of Michael Angelo Buonarroti. This is a contemporary account of the moving of the famous statue.

"The great marble 'David' stood in the Piazza 369 years. It was removed to the hall of the Academia delle Belle Arti in 1873 for better preservation. It has suffered very little from its exposure to the fine air of Florence, but the left arm was broken by a huge stone thrown during the tumults of 1527. Giorgio Vasari and his friend, Cecchino Salviati, collected the broken pieces and brought them to the house of Michael Angelo Salviati, father of Cecchino. They were carefully put together, and restored to the statue in 1543.

"The 'David' was the first work by Michael Angelo that displayed the awe-inspiring quality known as his *Terribilita*; from the fierce frown of the brow to the sharp, strained forms of the feet and toes, there is an expression of strenuous force struggling against an almost overwhelming power. The force of the David may succeed against Goliath; but in Michael Angelo's later works the struggle always appears to be a hopeless one, nobly as his Titans fight against fate and omnipotence. The face of the 'David' is a development of the Saint George of Or San Michele, by Donatello, and the figure is of the same type, only this triumphant boy of Michael Angelo shows a more exact study of the antique than the naturalistic work of his master. In Donatello the planes are given as flat and their junctions are sharp and hard; in Michael Angelo they are carefully rounded and finished with the grace of the antique and of life. The details of the head, although so high up, are so absolutely perfect that the separate features have been and are still, the models set before all students of art when they first begin to draw the human figure and they are known as The Nose, The Eye, The Ear and The Mouth. We have noticed that the young student is more interested in his work when he is told that they are the features of the 'David.'

"Michael Angelo carved his giant without modelling a full-sized clay figure first, but with the guidance of drawing and small wax models about eighteen inches high only, carving the figure out of the block in the way that is so well seen in the unfinished Saint Matthew in the court of the Academia delle Belle Arti in Florence. There are two small wax models of the 'David' in the Casa Buonarroti at Florence, said to be Michael Angelo's designs for this figure, but they are of very doubtful authority."

THE MARY NORTON THOMPSON TABLET.

On Tuesday afternoon, Jan. 12, 1904, the Buffalo Chapter, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, unveiled at the Historical Society building, a bronze tablet, placed there in

memory of Mrs. Mary Norton Thompson, first regent of the Buffalo Chapter. The exercises were attended by many members of the Buffalo Chapter, the Historical Society, and invited guests. Mrs. John Miller Horton, regent of the Buffalo Chapter, presided.

After an invocation, by the Rev. Henry B. Master, Mrs. Trueman G. Avery, chairman of the Thompson Memorial Committee, made a brief address of presentation of the tablet to the chapter, in the following words:

Madam Regent:

The Thompson Memorial Committee has finished its work. It has not been a labor. We had but to ask and these loyal daughters poured into our hands in generous measure the means to place on record for all time, the love and veneration this chapter cherishes for the memory of its founder, Regent and Honorary Regent, Mrs. Mary Norton Thompson.

We knocked hesitatingly at these doors, asking permission to place that memorial in this beautiful building, and in the words of the president of the Historical Society, they gave us a Spanish welcome, saying, "This house is yours, choose what pleases you most." We took them at their word and chose the best, and they freely gave us permission to place our tablet on the most prominent panel in this imposing hall.

And now, with earnest appreciation of the trust committed to us, we deliver to you today that trust materialized in enduring bronze.

The tablet, which had been placed in one of the large wall panels on the east side of the central court of the Historical Building, was then unveiled by Miss Gertrude Van Dalfsen Norton, a grand-niece of Mrs. Thompson. As the silk flags were parted, they disclosed a handsome bronze, four feet six inches high, with an extreme width of three feet; the heavy cornice at the top including a device showing the badge of the Daughters of the American Revolution. The inscription, in raised letters, is as follows:

To the memory of
MARY NORTON THOMPSON,
who founded the Buffalo Chapter of the National
Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, in
the year 1892, and was its regent and honorary re-
gent until her death, November 24th, 1902.

This tablet is erected in grateful and loving ap-
preciation by the members of the chapter.

The Regent, Mrs. Horton, read a poem written by Mrs. Thompson. Addressing the ladies of the chapter and assembled guests, she received the tablet for the chapter in the following words:

In accepting this tablet at the hands of the chairman of the Thompson Memorial Committee appointed for the purpose of attending to the details of the work, it gives the Regent, as representa-



TABLET TO THE MEMORY OF MARY NORTON THOMPSON.

PLACED IN THE HISTORICAL BUILDING BY THE BUFFALO CHAPTER, D.A.R., JANUARY 12, 1904.



ive of Buffalo Chapter, great pleasure to acknowledge the faithfulness with which this duty has been performed, and to thank the chairman and committee for their efficient and earnest work in this connection.

When, a few years ago, on March 12, 1892, a little party of patriotic women met to form a Buffalo branch of the national society, Daughters of the Revolution, it was scarcely thought then that the national organization would grow into its present greatness, with its 12,000 members.

But so universal has been the interest in this patriotic work, not only throughout our land, but in our own city, that today, we, of the Buffalo Chapter, point with pride to our 460 members, as the outgrowth of the enterprise of those who in founding this Buffalo branch had the wisdom and forethought to take as their leader for the first Regent of the chapter the woman who for nine years guided them on and well towards success, and who was first a member of the national society before the Buffalo branch or chapter was formed.

And thus, we are met today to do honor to the memory of this woman whom it is our duty as well as our pleasure to honor—Mrs. Mary Norton Thompson.

We place here upon the walls of this building, rich in historic lore, our tribute of affection, that those who come after us may look upon it, ponder well its significance and its *raison d'être*, thus bringing before them the honorable life, the noble work of this woman, high in thought and in purpose, lofty in ideals, and living out her life for the intellectual and moral growth of those over whom she had such wide influence.

Let us then hope that the work she has so nobly started we may continue through the coming years, in the same spirit of loyalty and devotion to the tenets of faith that was so characteristic of Mrs. Thompson.

The Hon. Peter A. Porter, in behalf of the Buffalo Historical Society, accepted the tablet, in the following words:

Madam Regent, and Members of the Buffalo Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution:

To be invited by the Society to which I belong, to accept in its behalf the custodianship of such a memorial—which has been prepared as the collective tribute of her fellow-members, in honor of one whom I myself had known so long and loved so dearly—makes the duty a peculiarly touching one to me.

As others are to speak of her individuality, I desire merely to express in a few words, our thanks for the trust thus tendered, and to make a reference to the special appropriateness of its location in this structure, which is dedicated to history in its broadest and best sense.

The Buffalo Historical Society gratefully accepts the custody of this beautiful tablet, with a full appreciation of the individual affection on your part which has prompted the memorial, and with a feeling of pleasure on our part that it has been placed within these walls.

The sight of it brings to the mind of everyone here present a

veritable proof of the importance and of the truthfulness of the words of the hymnist:

It is not all of life to live,
Nor all of death to die.

It shows the determination of the donors, that at the end of a noble and useful life, which has accomplished so much that is really tangible for the betterment and for the enlightenment of her fellow-beings, the fond recollections thereof shall not be allowed to lapse into forgetfulness, and that, especially along the lines in which such a life has been most eminent—

The sweet remembrance of the Just,
Shall flourish, though she lies in dust.

Those are the thoughts that will be the most forcibly impressed upon the minds of all who shall gaze upon it.

A beauteous tribute is to be erected in the church of which she was a member, to her memory as a follower of her Lord, and as a laborer in His vineyard; to her Christian devotion and to her unaffected piety.

In her many-sided mind, no mere human attributes were more prominent than those of patriotism, devotion to the inheritances of the past, and glory in the achievements of ancestral services to her country; and it is those phases of her character that this tablet especially perpetuates.

And what more fitting place could be selected for its erection than here, where it is surrounded by examples of art, to which subject she was so devoted, and on which she was so high an authority; amidst the relics of that rapidly-passing aboriginal race, amongst whom, in another but not far-distant county, her own ancestors had played a prominent part; amidst the records of many aspects of history, of which she had such a comprehensive knowledge; amongst the mementoes of three great wars—the Revolution, that of 1812, and of the Rebellion—in all of which her relatives and friends had borne their parts, and in all of which the spirit of true patriotism had triumphed, and, perhaps above all, where it is surrounded by, or in close proximity to, the portraits of so many of those who had been her personal friends in life.

In such a setting, this noble monument, wrought by the sculptor's cunning hand; donated by the members of a branch of a great Patriotic Society, over which branch for many years and in the love of all she had presided, finds environments which are as fitting, as the subjects whose memories they recall were dear to her, and are dear to every one of us.

The greater the number of people who see such a monument, the greater the lesson it inculcates; the better it fulfils its object. To the tide of humanity, which day in and day out, year in and year out—for its doors are practically never closed—ebbs and flows through this building, this memorial will be a perpetual inspiration. It will be an enduring suggestion of the words of Longfellow:

Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us
Foot-prints on the sands of Time.

That is the everlasting good—that is the never-dying lesson of such a memorial. It is a tribute by the many to the worth of one. But, besides that, it is a permanent incentive to patriotism. It is an evidence of things still felt, though now unseen. It is, indeed, a lasting foot-print on the patriotic sands of Time.

For, as one looks upon it, there must be forced upon the mind that promise of Holy Writ—

Even though a man die, yet shall he live.

That thought which the poet has so beautifully worded—

There is no death. What seems so is transition.
This life of mortal breath
Is but the suburb of the Life Elysian,
Whose portal we call death.

This Society, with all the prestige of a long and honorable career; with all the advantages of this noble building; with the interest of the people of the city enlisted in its behalf and in its welfare, aims and specially desires to make its home a veritable Temple of History for the preservation of all the relics and of all the story of our local past, and prominent among them all is the conservation of the memories of the lives and of the good deeds of all who have been foremost in this locality.

Therefore, it appreciates your selection of this location, especially as being the pioneer in the erection in this structure of such memorials to the great and good; it welcomes the presence of this splendid tribute as an inspiring incentive to that spirit of loyalty to the past, which your society so admirably perpetuates; it accepts its custody in loving remembrance of the noble life of her, whose name it bears, and it will honor it with all the devotion which is due to that spirit of patriotism, which she ever advocated, which the life of the martyred President, whose statue it faces, so grandly exemplified, and which, may it please God, shall never be permitted to perish from the hearts, nor from the minds, of all of the children of men.

Mrs. George Wadsworth, for the chapter, addressing the president of the Historical Society, and others, said:

Mr. President, Madam Regent, Ladies and Gentlemen:

After the eloquent, beautiful and affectionate words which have already been spoken, it would seem there could be nothing left for me to say, by way of tribute, to my beloved friend and honored Christian fellow-worker, Mrs. Mary Norton Thompson. And yet, the half has not been said, nor can it be said, because words must always be inadequate to express the full value of such a life!

Privileged to stand near her in many relations of life, for me the memories of more than forty years encircle her like a rainbow. Memories of a life made great by high endeavor; made beautiful by a perpetual serenity; made blessed by a noble, self-denying beneficence.

But, perhaps, for me, the dearest of these memories is that of her great love for poetry; more especially that of the old poets. It was almost a passion with her. Spenser, Dante, Shakespeare and Milton she knew by heart, and all the glorious old anthems and hymns of the

church, were to her, a constant joy. Chief among these was that grand old hymn, familiar, doubtless, to you all, "How Firm a Foundation!" Often and often, when the Sabbath twilight was falling, she would pace her long parlors, her hands clasped behind her, chanting its solemn stanzas—always, as she said, gaining from them strength to go forward! And what wonder! Surely, to no other life does this hymn more fittingly apply. It might almost have been written for her.

In earliest girlhood, she fixed her faith on that "firm foundation, His excellent word"; and though doubt and distrust were on every side, she never faltered nor wavered. Bravely, she went forward into life's struggles, sure that through them all she would be "upheld by God's gracious Omnipotent Hand!"

And when she was called, as we all must be, sooner or later, to walk "through the deep waters," her brave spirit rose triumphant, and "the rivers of sorrow did not overflow." And when the Great Refiner saw fit for her, as for many of us, to heat the furnace seven times, and called her to pass through "fiery trials," those dread flames did not harm her, they served but to refine the gold and make all glorious that temple of the living God, which temple she was. Through all, her great soul "rested on Jesus" and she ever found repose in "His sovereign, eternal, unchangeable love."

And thus to her was fulfilled every promise of this grand old hymn. "E'en down to old age" did she prove them true, true, true!

And if today she might send a message to you, her beloved Daughters of the American Revolution, I doubt not it would be, "fear not to trust God's promises." And so, dear friends, let us follow her beautiful example and prove the preciousness of these promises, forever and always. God says to us, as He said to her:

"The soul that on Jesus has leaned for repose,
I will not, I will not, desert to its foes,
That soul, though all hell shall endeavor to shake,
I'll never, no never, no never, forsake!"

Miss Grace Bird, at whose house the chapter was formed, was present, but desired to be excused from speaking. Mr. Charles P. Norton, in a brief address, on behalf of the Norton family, thanked the chapter for its tribute to the memory of their revered relative. A benediction by the Rev. Mr. Master, closed these interesting exercises.

OBITUARY NOTES.

WILSON SHANNON BISSELL.

The Buffalo Historical Society will ever have peculiar reason to cherish the memory of Wilson Shannon Bissell, for he rendered the institution great service in helping to bring about the legislation which gave to the Society its present home. In numerous ways, and so far as his many duties permitted, he proved himself a staunch friend of the Historical Society.

His death, October 6, 1903, brought to a close too soon a busy and



HON. WILSON S. BISSELL.

DIED OCTOBER 6, 1903.



a useful career. He was born at New London, Oneida County, N. Y., Dec. 31, 1847, of Scotch-English ancestry; the son of John Bissell and Isabella Jeanette Malley. When Wilson was five years old his father moved to Buffalo and became prominent here, in the early '50's. in the grain and forwarding business. Wilson attended the Hopkins Grammar School, New Haven, and Yale College, graduating in the class of '69. One of his college honors was membership in Skull and Bones. Returning to Buffalo, he entered the office of Lanning, Cleveland & Folsom. The head of the firm, Mr. E. P. Lanning, was at that time the leader of the bar in Buffalo, and the young student profited greatly by association with men in the highest rank of his chosen profession. His friendship with Grover Cleveland began early in his career, a friendship broken only by death.

In 1870, when Mr. Cleveland was elected sheriff of Erie County, the law firm became Lanning, Folsom & Willett, and Mr. Bissell was head clerk until 1872, when he was invited to a partnership with Lyman K. Bass. Later, Mr. Cleveland joined the firm, which became Bass, Cleveland & Bissell, and continued until Mr. Bass removed to Colorado. Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Bissell continued in partnership until Mr. Cleveland was elected Mayor of Buffalo, in 1881; then Mr. Geo. J. Sicard was admitted, the firm becoming Cleveland, Bissell & Sicard. This firm was attorney for the Lehigh Valley Railroad, when that road was brought to Buffalo, and for other large corporations. When, in 1882, Mr. Cleveland was elected Governor of New York State, Mr. Charles W. Goodyear entered the firm, and remained until 1887, when he went into the lumber business. Mr. Bissell's firm became counsel for the Buffalo & Susquehanna Railroad, and the Buffalo & Susquehanna Iron Co., both Goodyear interests. After Mr. Goodyear's withdrawal, the firm became Bissell, Sicard, Brundage & Bissell, the Hon. Frank Brundage and Herbert P. Bissell being admitted. In 1894 Judge Brundage withdrew and Martin Carey entered the firm, and in 1896 Mr. Herbert P. Bissell left it, Walter P. Cooke being admitted, the firm name becoming Bissell, Carey & Cooke.

A coincidence worthy of note is, that Millard Fillmore, a former President of the United States; Nathan K. Hall, former Postmaster-General and a United States District Judge, and Grover Cleveland, occupied at different times the same offices subsequently rented by Mr. Bissell. Mr. Bissell became President Cleveland's Postmaster-General in 1893. He was a staunch Democrat, and a good organizer. He served at the head of the Postoffice Department for two years, his administration being marked by practical business ability, an excellent conception of the needs of the Department, and a careful effort to introduce reforms where needed. But there was much about the position that was irksome to him, and the persistency and pettiness of politicians and place-hunters greatly harassed him. Against the wishes of his associates in the Cabinet, and of the President, Mr. Bissell resigned his portfolio and returned to the practice of the profession which he loved, in Buffalo. In 1884 he had served as Presidential elector-at-large on the Democratic ticket; and in 1891 Governor David B. Hill appointed him member of the commission which revised the judiciary article of the State Constitution.

In his practice, Mr. Bissell was a counsellor, not a pleader before juries. He rarely appeared in court, and the only speech he is known

to have made was at a dinner given for Grover Cleveland by the Cleveland Democracy of Buffalo in May, 1891. But in his chosen line of practice, Mr. Bissell was probably the peer of any one who ever belonged to the Bar of Buffalo, and very many important interests were successfully committed to his care. He was a member of the directorate of the Lehigh & Lake Erie Railroad Co., the Lehigh Valley Railroad Co., the Lehigh & New York Railroad Co., the Elmira, Cortland & Northern Railroad Co., the Canastota Northern Railroad Co., the Elmira Transfer Railway Co., the Canal Railway Co., and the Pioneer Real Estate Co. He regarded life insurance as a judicious investment, and at the time of his death carried policies aggregating \$80,000. He was a member of the old City Club, of the Buffalo, Country, and Ellicott Clubs, and of the University Club of New York. He was a trustee of Yale University, and in 1892 succeeded the Hon. James O. Putnam as Chancellor of the University of Buffalo. At one time he was president of the Young Men's Association, and a vestryman of Trinity Episcopal Church.

Mr. Bissell was a life member of the Buffalo Historical Society, a member of its board of managers from 1898 till his death; and was chairman of its finance committee during the period of the legislation and subsequent work which resulted in the erection of the Historical Society's building in Delaware Park, by a merger of funds of the Society, the City and the State appropriation for the New York State building for the Pan-American Exposition. Buffalo's enjoyment of this building as a permanent and free institution, is in good measure due to services rendered by the Hon. Wilson S. Bissell.

In 1889 Mr. Bissell married Miss Louise Sturgess of Geneva; who with one child survives him. On the day following his death, all the courts of Buffalo adjourned in respect to his memory; and at an early date, the Erie County Bar held a memorial meeting, notable in its history. His associates and life-long friends vied with each other in testifying to his sterling character, his high integrity, and his kindly and helpful disposition. The funeral was held from Trinity Episcopal Church, Oct. 9th, the rector, the Rev. Cameron J. Davis, officiating. Among the bearers were former President Grover Cleveland, the Hon. John G. Carlisle, and the Hon. Hoke Smith, who had served with Mr. Bissell in the Cabinet. The remains were cremated.

ELLIS WEBSTER.

Ellis Webster, one of the oldest and best-known business men of Buffalo, died of apoplexy at his home, No. 45 Richmond Avenue, Dec. 17, 1903. His death was not expected, for he had been at his office on the 16th as usual. After he retired that night, however, he complained of feeling ill, and death followed soon after.

Mr. Webster was the senior member of the firm of E. Webster, Son & Co., one of the largest ice companies in this part of the country. He was born in Eden, of Quaker parents, in 1823. He came to Buffalo to engage in the grocery business, in 1844; in 1868 he became also a coal dealer; and in 1875 the ice business was begun. This rapidly grew to large proportions, the company controlling a large number of houses in Western New York and Canada.

In 1850 Mr. Webster married Miss Charlotte W. Whitney of



ELLIS WEBSTER.

DIED DECEMBER 17, 1903.



Kenosha, Wis., who survives him, with two children, E. H. Webster and Mrs. H. D. Waters, both of this city. In politics Mr. Webster was a Republican. His only public position was that of alderman from the old Second Ward, in 1873-'74. He was a member of the first Baptist Church, being senior deacon at the time of his death. He was for many years a member of the Buffalo Historical Society, and from 1892 to 1895 was a member of its board of councillors.

NELSON K. HOPKINS.

The Hon. Nelson K. Hopkins, for many years a life member of the Buffalo Historical Society, died on March 2, 1904, at the home of his son-in-law, Mr. Frederick C. Humburch, No. 101 Windsor Avenue, his death occurring on his 88th birthday.

Erie County had been Mr. Hopkins's home ever since he was born on his father's farm near Williamsville, in 1816. His father, Gen. Timothy S. Hopkins, lived for many years at Great Barrington, Mass., but moved to Erie County in 1800. Gen. Hopkins was appointed captain by Gov. Clinton in 1803, major by Gov. Lewis in 1806, lieutenant colonel by Gov. Hopkins in 1811; and served as brigadier-general under Maj.-Gen. Hall during the War of 1812, but resigned his commission when peace was declared.

The boyhood of Nelson K. Hopkins was spent on his father's farm. At seventeen, he became clerk to the contractors then building the road between Buffalo and Williamsville. In this position he had charge of the accounts with over 400 men. In 1834 Mr. Hopkins entered the academy at Fredonia, where he attended two years, followed by two years at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y.

Before entering this school Mr. Hopkins had been elected captain of a company of militia at Williamsville, and while he was at the seminary the company was called out, on account of the disturbances consequent to the uprising known as the Patriot War, or Mackenzie's or the Upper Canada Rebellion. Mr. Hopkins at once hastened to the front, where he enlisted in the United States service with sixty of his men, and was stationed with them on the Niagara at the foot of Ferry Street. He next entered Union College at Schenectady, from which institution he graduated with honors in 1842. Mr. Hopkins was elected to membership in the Phi Beta Kappa society, an honor conferred only upon students of the highest standing; at time of his death Mr. Hopkins was the oldest living member of the society in New York State.

Choosing the law for his life-work, in 1846 Mr. Hopkins entered the office of Potter & Spaulding, in this city, as a clerk. After admission to the bar, he won distinction as a counsellor, rather than as an advocate, and much of his practice concerned the settlement of estates and the placing of investments.

Mr. Hopkins was always a Republican, and was many times honored with public office. He served several terms as supervisor and alderman, and in 1866 was appointed collector of internal revenue by President Johnson. In 1871, without his knowledge or consent, he was nominated for State comptroller, and was elected by a large majority. He was called to the administration of the financial de-

partment of the State at a critical time. Tweed and his accomplices were then in power, and they had greatly disorganized the finances of the commonwealth. The sinking funds had been despoiled to make good other appropriations, and in various ways the comptroller's department was greatly in need of reform. Mr. Hopkins addressed himself to that task with untiring energy. That his services were appreciated is shown by the fact that, in 1873, he was reelected, the only Republican on the ticket to secure election.

At the expiration of his second term Mr. Hopkins returned to Buffalo and resumed the practice of law, which he continued down almost to the day of his death. He ever took a keen interest in the welfare of the city, and was prominent in much work that redounded to the good of the community. He was one of the organizers of the present paid fire department, and for ten years was a fire commissioner. For many years he was the attorney of and a director in White's Bank, later the American Exchange Bank of Buffalo, and was long identified with prominent clubs, societies and other organizations.

Personally, Mr. Hopkins was a most lovable, affable and courteous gentleman of the old school. His spirit was ever young. He loved the companions of his youth, but many of the younger citizens numbered him among their valued friends.

Mr. Hopkins was twice married. His first wife was Lucie A. Allen, daughter of Orlando Allen; and the second was Louise A. Pratt, daughter of Hiram Pratt. Both Mr. Allen and Mr. Pratt served the city as mayor. The marriage of Mr. Hopkins to Miss Allen in 1848 was a great social event in Buffalo, Bronson C. Rumsey and Miss Evelyn Hall, and Lucien Hawley and Miss Irene Leech being married at the same ceremony, the three brides being own cousins.

Mr. Hopkins is survived by two sons and three daughters: Walter G. Hopkins, Warren Dix Hopkins, Mrs. Edmund P. Fish, Mrs. William C. Hodge, and Mrs. Frederick C. Humburch. His eldest son, Hiram Pratt Hopkins, died some two years before his father.

ROBERT BORTHWICK ADAM.

The death, on June 30, 1904, of Robert B. Adam, was a great loss to the community, for the good of which, in widely different channels, he had worked for many years. To recite the mere facts of Mr. Adam's life-story is to convey but little idea of what he accomplished.

Born in Peebles, Scotland, Feb. 4, 1833, the son of a Scotch minister, the Rev. Thomas Adam, and of Isabella Borthwick, his school days were over at ten, when he was apprenticed to Andrew Meek, an Edinburgh hosier and glover. From this early initiation into business he passed to the employ of Thomas Cooper & Co., wholesale merchants of Edinburgh. In 1855 he married Grace Harriet Michie of that city; and two years later came to Boston to represent the makers of Clapperton's thread, a Paisley industry. He later engaged with Lane, Lamson & Co., importers of dry goods at Boston. While with them he became secretary of the Scots' Charitable Society, an



HON. NELSON K. HOPKINS.

DIED MARCH 2, 1904.



association in which he did much good, and which long received his interest and help.

Mr. Adam's career in Buffalo began in 1867, when he organized here the firm of Adam, Meldrum & Whiting, Alexander Meldrum and Alexander Whiting being his partners; the original store was the south part of the stores now occupied by the successors of this firm, Nos. 396-408 Main Street. A year later Mr. Whiting retired, the firm becoming Adam, Meldrum & Co. In 1875 William Anderson was taken into the firm. Mr. Meldrum died in October, 1892, and on Nov. 4th of that year the Adam, Meldrum & Anderson Company was organized. The growth of this business, and its marked success in the community, was largely due to the thorough knowledge of its details which Mr. Adam had, to right methods, and to close attention to them.

At the time of his death Mr. Adam was chairman of the Buffalo Grade Crossing Commission, president of the Young Men's Christian Association, a director of the Buffalo General Hospital, and a trustee of Cornell University. He was also president of the Syndicate Trading Co., an organization of the largest dry-goods stores of the country. He had been president of the Buffalo Merchants' Exchange, was an active member of the First Presbyterian Church, and a life member of the Buffalo Historical Society.

His work at the head of the Buffalo Grade Crossing Commission should make his memory cherished as long as Buffalo exists. The commission was created by act of Legislature, in 1888, having in view the abolition of the worst of the many dangerous grade crossings in Buffalo. In 1890 a supplementary act conferred more power upon the commission, and enabled it to require of the railroads what before it could only request. In the next thirteen years a change of grade was effected at most of the dangerous crossings, sometimes by lowering or raising the street, sometimes by changing the grade of the tracks, usually by some change in both. The work involved great expenditure by the railroads and the city, but it may be doubted if equivalent expenditure in the city of Buffalo ever produced more beneficial results. Mr. Adam's devotion to this work was great. He mastered the details of the problem as he had those of his own business; and he won the admiration of officials and railroad men with whom he was often brought into opposition. Mr. Adam prepared, for the Buffalo Historical Society, a history of the earlier years of this work. It is proposed to bring it down to date and print it in a subsequent volume of these *Publications*.

He was president of the Young Men's Christian Association of Buffalo from 1897 till his death. He was chairman of the building committee, 1880-1883, when the building at Mohawk and Pearl streets was erected; and again, 1900-1903, when the new building of the association on Genesee Street was under way. He was a member of the board of trustees of that institution since 1886, and chairman of the finance committee of the trustees. He was a friend to many charities.

For some years he had taken great pleasure in collecting rare books and manuscripts; and he built up a most valuable collection of literary material relating to Samuel Johnson, Robert Burns, Ruskin and Hogarth. An eminent authority, Mr. George Birkbeck Hill, has declared Mr. Adam's collection of Johnsoniana the best in existence.

His collection of Burns manuscripts and early editions was perhaps equally notable. It includes the original manuscripts of some of Burns' most popular poems, and the correspondence between the poet and Mrs. Dunlop, which Mr. Adam published in two handsome volumes, edited by Dr. William Robertson Nicholl, editor of the *British Weekly*.

At Mr. Adam's death, unusual marks of respect were shown. Flags were at half mast throughout the city; many organizations adopted suitable resolutions; the attendance at the funeral was large; and there were and continue to be many evidences that the place which Robert Borthwick Adam filled in the history of Buffalo was a worthy and honored one.



ROBERT BORTHWICK ADAM.

DIED JUNE 30, 1904.



APPENDIX B

A FEW BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

RELATING TO THE NIAGARA REGION.

In the "Contributions towards a Bibliography of the Niagara Region," contained in Volumes V and VI of these *Publications*, were printed lists of books relating to the Upper Canada Rebellion, and of books and pamphlets printed in Buffalo prior to 1850. To the latter list, the compiler can now add but one item, not then given:

The Farmer's Instructor or Every Man his own Lawyer. Compiled by a gentleman of the bar. [*Quot. 51.*] Buffalo: Published by Oliver Spafford. H. A. Salisbury, Printer. 1823. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in., pp. 240, xxiv.

It contains the U. S. Constitution, the N. Y. State Constitution, and various forms of legal papers. No copy of it is known to be in existence in Buffalo, the only copy learned of being in the library of Mr. Henry F. De Puy, New York City. As the list published in Vol. VI shows, there are only about half a dozen earlier Buffalo imprints than this—exclusive of newspapers—and of these all but one are pamphlets. The work appears to have been put in type in Buffalo.

The omission from the list of early Buffalo imprints of any edition of the Bible may be remarked. It is true that a Bible is rarely to be found, bearing the imprint of W. B. Hayden, Buffalo, 1839. O'Callaghan includes it in his list of "Editions of the Holy Scriptures . . . printed in America previous to 1860." It was a quarto; and it is reasonably certain that the stereotype plates were not made here, nor the sheets printed on a Buffalo press. As was the case with many other books, especially school-books, usually printed in Boston or New York, various imprints were added, indicating local booksellers, who were often printers as well, in different small towns. O'Callaghan also gives the following edition, which the present editor has not seen:

The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments; Together with the Apocrypha; Translated out of the Original Tongues, and with the former Translations diligently compared and revised. With Canne's Marginal Notes and References. To which are added: An Index; an Alphabetical Table of all the Names in the Old and New Testaments, with their Significations, Tables of Scripture Weights, Measures, and Coins, &c. Buffalo: Published by Phinney & Co. 4to. New York: Ivison & Phinney. 1849.

As is the case with the edition of 1839, the plates from which this Bible was printed were not made in Buffalo. O'Callaghan notes that after the destruction of H. & E. Phinney's plates by fire in 1849, Messrs. Phinney & Co. of Buffalo purchased the plates from which this Bible of 1849 was printed, from Sumner & Goodman, Hartford, Conn. The printing may have been done here. The same facts probably apply to a small New Testament—a 32mo—published by Phinney & Co. in Buffalo, in 1849.

The Buffalo Historical Society desires to learn of any additions to its list of early Buffalo imprints, which the readers of this volume may be able to make.

A BOOK THAT GREW—SEAVER'S "MARY JEMISON."

Among all the books that relate to the early history of Western New York, there is none that surpasses in interest, the narrative of Mary Jemison, the white girl who, taken captive by the Indians, was adopted by them, married among them, thus making them her people, and living to the close of a long life, as her Indian friends and relatives lived. Her home for many years was on the Genesee river, not far from the beautiful falls below Portage; but her last years were passed in Buffalo, and here she died and was buried, her remains after many years being removed to the neighborhood of her old home on the Genesee. Mr. James E. Seaver visited her in 1823, and gathered from her own lips, as fully as possible, the story of her life. It covered a period of Western New York history concerning which contemporary records are scant. Such was the value of the book, and the interest of scholars and others in it, that in the eighty years that have elapsed since the original publication, several other editions have been issued in this country, and at least three in England. Several distinguished students of Indian life and history have edited, revised and added to the work, from time to time, until the original publication is hardly to be recognized in the latest editions.

The intimate connection of the narrative with the early history of Buffalo, and the great scarcity of several of the editions, make it desirable to have as full a bibliographical record of it as possible; for in all probability it will undergo further changes, in future edi-

A NARRATIVE
OF THE LIFE OF
MRS. MARY JEMISON.

Who was taken by the Indians, in the year 1755,
when only about twelve years of age, and
has continued to reside amongst
them to the present time.

CONTAINING

An Account of the Murder of her Father and his
Family; her sufferings; her marriage to two Indians;
her troubles with her Children; barbarities of the
Indians in the French and Revolutionary Wars; the
life of her last Husband, &c.: and many Historical
Facts never before published.

Carefully taken from her own words, Nov. 29th, 1823.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

An APPENDIX, containing an account of the tragedy
at the Devil's Hole, in 1763, and of Sullivan's Ex-
pedition; the Traditions, Manners, Customs, &c. of
the Indians, as believed and practised at the present
day, and since Mrs. Jemison's captivity; together
with some Anecdotes, and other entertaining matter

—◆—
BY JAMES E. SEAVER.

—◆—
CANANDAIGUA:
PRINTED BY J. D. BEMIS AND CO.

1824.

tions. The following list enumerates all the editions and re-issues known to the editor of this volume, and is believed to be complete.

SEAVER, JAMES E. *A Narrative of the life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, who was taken by the Indians, in the year 1755, when only about twelve years of age, and has continued to reside amongst them to the present time. Containing an Account of the Murder of her Father and his Family; her sufferings; her marriage to two Indians; her troubles with her children; barbarities of the Indians in the French and Revolutionary Wars; the life of her last Husband, &c.; and many Historical Facts never before published. Carefully taken from her own words, Nov. 29th, 1823. To which is added, An Appendix, containing an account of the tragedy at the Devil's Hole, in 1763, and of Sullivan's Expedition; the Traditions, Manners, Customs, &c., of the Indians, as believed and practised at the present day, and since Mrs. Jemison's captivity; together with some Anecdotes, and other entertaining matter.* By James E. Seaver. Canandaigua: Printed by J. D. Bemis and Co. 1824. 16mo., pp. 189.

Fac-simile of title-page on p. 497.

This the original edition, has for many years been excessively rare. It contains, beside the narrative which Seaver wrote from his interviews with Mary Jemison, an appendix (pp. 145-189), in which are given an account of the Devil's Hole massacre of 1763, giving data as gathered by the author from Mary Jemison, and by Linus S. Everett from Jesse Ware; an account of Sullivan's expedition of 1779, contributed by Sergt. John Salmon, who shared in the expedition; traditions of the origin of the Senecas, communicated to Seaver by Capt. Horatio Jones; and miscellaneous facts and anecdotes illustrating Seneca life, based on information from Mary Jemison.

SEAVER, JAMES E. *A Narrative of the life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, who was taken by the Indians, in the year 1755, when only about twelve years of age, and has continued to reside amongst them to the present time. Containing an account of the murder of her father and his family; her sufferings; her marriage to two Indians; her troubles with her children; barbarities of the Indians in the French and Revolutionary Wars; the life of her last husband; and many Historical Facts never before published. Carefully taken from her own words, Nov. 29th, 1823. To which is added, an Appendix, Containing an Account of the Tragedy at the Devil's Hole, in 1763, and of Sullivan's Expedition; the Traditions, Manners, Customs, &c., of the Indians, as believed and practiced at the present day, and since Mrs. Jemison's captivity; together with some Anecdotes, and other entertaining matter.* By James E. Seaver. Howden: Printed for R. Parkin: sold by T. Tegg, 73, Cheapside, London; Wilson & Sons, York; J. Noble, Hull; W. Walker, Otley; and by every other bookseller. 1826. 16mo. pp. 180.

The author's preface, which in the original edition is dated "Pembroke, March 1, 1824," is here printed without place or date. Otherwise this edition is identical with the original Canandaigua edition, even to the mis-spelling of words. It is, however, a better

printed book, on tough durable paper. It was printed by William Walker, at Otley, England.

SEAUER, JAMES E. A Narrative of the life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, . . . [same title as preceding edition.] Otley: Printed by William Walker. Sold by all booksellers. 1842. 32mo. pp. 192. Frontispiece: A white man receiving a pipe from Indians, gathered about a fire.

Text same as preceding edition; to which is added (pp. 174-185), "Remarks concerning the Savages of North America" and "Fortitude of the Indian character," from a source not indicated.

SEAUER, JAMES E., and WRIGHT, (Rev.) ASHER. The Interesting Narrative of Mary Jemison, who lived nearly seventy-eight years among the Indians. [Buffalo, 1834.] 12mo. pp. 36.

The only copy known to the editor of this volume (in his own library) has no title-page (possibly never had one), but has display heading as above on p. 1. The narrative is Seaver's, much abbreviated. Mr. Wright, the devoted missionary to the Senecas at Buffalo Creek, adds about half a page, on Mary Jemison's removal from Gardeau to the Buffalo Creek Reservation, her conversion to Christianity, death and burial, September, 1833.

[SEAUER, JAMES E., and WRIGHT, (Rev.) ASHER]. A Narrative of the life of Mrs. Mary Jemison, Who was taken by a party of French and Indians at Marsh Creek, in Pennsylvania, in the year 1755, and carried down the Ohio River when only 12 years of age, and who continued to reside with the Indians and follow their manner of living 78 years, until the time of her death, which took place at the Seneca Reservation, near Buffalo, N. Y. in 1833 at the advanced age of 90 years. Containing An account of the Murder of her Father's Family, who were taken captives at the same time with herself, but who were Tomahawked and Scalped the second night of their captivity; her Marriage to two Indian Chiefs, with whom she lived many years, and both of whom she followed to the grave. [*A wonderful woodcut, two Indians and a white man in a dense wood, the Indians apparently getting the worst of it.*] To which is added An account of her conversion to the Christian Religion a few months before her death:—Her ideas of the Christian Religion and views of herself previous to her conversion, as related by the Rev. Mr. Wright, Minister at the Seneca Reservation, where she died. Rochester: Printed by Miller & Butterfield. 1840. 8vo. pp. 36. Folding frontispiece, "a correct view" [!] of the capture of the Jemison family; and full-page cut at end: "Hiokatoo, Mrs. Jemison's second husband, as he appeared when attired in his war dress," etc.

A reprint of Mr. Wright's abridgment of 1834. The illustrations "must be seen to be appreciated."

SEAUER, JAMES E., and MIX, EBENEZER. Deh-he-wa-mis: or a Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison: otherwise called the White Woman, who was taken captive by the Indians in MDCCLV; and who continued with them seventy-eight years. Containing an account of the murder of her father and his family; her marriages and sufferings; Indian barbarities, customs and traditions. Care-

Am. E.
Lond

fully taken from her own words. By James E. Seaver. Also the life of Hiokattoo, and Ebenezer Allen; a sketch of General Sullivan's Campaign; Tragedy of the "Devils Hole," etc.—The whole revised, corrected and enlarged; with descriptive and historical sketches of the six nations, the Genesee country, and other interesting facts connected with the narrative: By Ebenezer Mix. Batavia, N. Y. Published by William Seaver and Son. 1842. 16mo. pp. 192.

Has a new "Publishers' notice," by William, brother of James E. Seaver. Ebenezer Mix prefixed the word "Deh-he-wa-mis" to the title; transposed, divided, consolidated and re-arranged, various chapters and parts of chapters; added to the original narrative chapters v., xviii., xix. and xx., dealing mainly in a general way with the history of the Six Nations, with further details regarding Mary Jemison's later years, her death and funeral in Buffalo, notes regarding her descendants, and many facts relating to the Genesee country. Some of the features of the appendix to the original edition are omitted, others being revised and expanded, especially the account of Sullivan's expedition; to which is added, an account of the removal of the remains of Lieut. Boyd, in 1841. For the student, this edition is much more valuable than the original.

SEAVER, JAMES E. and MIX, EBENEZER. *Deh-he-wa-mis*: [Title identical with preceding.] Second edition. Batavia, N. Y. Published by William Seaver and Son, 1842. 16mo. pp. 192.

The only difference between the two issues of 1842 is that one title-page has the words: "Second Edition." The other lacks it.

SEAVER, JAMES E., and MIX, EBENEZER. *Deh-he-wa-mis*: [Title identical with that of Batavia edition of 1842:] Third edition. Batavia, N. Y. Published by William Seaver and Son, 1844. 12mo. pp. 192.

Text the same as in the edition of 1842.

SEAVER, JAMES E., and MIX, EBENEZER. *Deh-he-wa-mis*: [Title identical with that of Batavia edition, 1842.] Devon, published by S. Thorne, Prospect-Place, Shebbear. London. W. Tegg, 73, Cheapside, 1847. 16mo. pp. 184, *advs*, "Works published by William Tegg," &c., 36 pp.

Text similar to that of the second and third Batavia editions. The English publisher adds a short notice, stating that subscribers were secured for the book before it was printed, by "a gentleman who has resided for some years in the neighbourhood in which many of the occurrences related . . . took place."

SEAVER, JAMES E. [MIX, EBENEZER, and MORGAN, LEWIS H.] *Life of Mary Jemison: Deh-he-wa-mis*. By James E. Seaver. Fourth edition, with geographical and explanatory notes. New York and Auburn: Miller, Orton & Mulligan. Rochester: D. M. Dewey. 1856. 12mo. pp. 312, [*advs*, 2]. Frontispiece and four other woodcuts.

Again this protean work presents new features. Seaver's original "Introduction" is preceded by a "Publisher's Note" of three pages, dated "Rochester, N. Y., March, 1856," written, as

1842-
place

were the numerous helpful notes scattered throughout the work, by the Hon. Lewis H. Morgan. The text in the main is that of the second and third editions, but chapter xix. of those editions (by Mix) is transferred to the Appendix; and a "Concluding Note, from 'League of the Iroquois'" is added (pp. 251-269) to the main narrative. A new feature of the appendix is a list of Indian geographical names in the State of New York, taken from Morgan's "League of the Iroquois." A letter from Ely S. Parker (Do-ne-hö-ga-weh) to D. M. Dewey, the Rochester publisher, is introduced. The full-page woodcuts, one purporting to show Mary Jemison "relating her history to the author," others entitled "Mary being arrayed in Indian costume," Mary "in Indian costume at the age of sixteen," "The murder of one of her sons, by his brother," and "Showing her house, and modern improvements," are curious reminders of the sort of "historical" illustration in use half a century ago. This edition was copyrighted by D. M. Dewey, and bears the imprint of "C. E. Felton, stereotyper, Buffalo."

SEAUER, JAMES E. [MIX, EBENEZER, and MORGAN, LEWIS H.] *Life of Mary Jemison* . . . [*Title like foregoing.*] New York: C. M. Saxton. 1859. 12mo. pp. 312.

A re-issue of the fourth edition, without the dates of the "Publisher's Note" and "Introduction."

SEAUER, JAMES E. [MIX, EBENEZER, and MORGAN, LEWIS H.] *Life of Mary Jemison: Deh-he-wā-mis.* By James E. Seaver. Fourth edition, with geographical and explanatory notes. New York: C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co., No. 25 Park Row. 1860.

Except that the dates at the bottom of the "Publishers' Note" and "Introduction" are cut away, this re-issue is the same as the edition of 1856.

SEAUER, JAMES E. [MIX, EBENEZER; MORGAN, LEWIS H.; PARKER, ELY S.; WRIGHT, (Mrs.) ASHER; BRYANT, WILLIAM C.; and LETCHWORTH, (Hon.) WILLIAM P.] *Life of Mary Jemison: Deh-he-wā-mis.* By James E. Seaver. Fifth edition, with appendix. Buffalo, N. Y.: Printing house of Matthews & Warren, Office of the "Buffalo Commercial Advertiser." 1877. 12mo. pp. 303. Ills.

The Hon. William Pryor Letchworth purchased the stereotyped plates and copyright, and issued this edition, in handsomer form than any preceding edition. It includes most of the features of the preceding edition; a note by Mr. Letchworth; an "Account of a visit to the Cattaraugus Reservation in 1873," by William C. Bryant, president of the Buffalo Historical Society in 1876; another chapter, "The last hours of the captive" (Mary Jemison), by Mrs. Asher Wright, missionary; and, in the Appendix, an account, presumably by Mr. Letchworth, of the removal of the remains of Mary Jemison, from Buffalo to the banks of the Genesee near Portage, in 1874; with contemporary newspaper accounts appended. This is the first edition in which the illustrations are of any value. Among them are a well-engraved view of Gardeau, the home of the "white woman," portraits of some of her descendants, and numerous cuts in the text, after Morgan.

SEAVER, JAMES E. [*and others, as in edition of 1877*]. A Narrative of the life of Mary Jemison. De-he-wā-mis, the White Woman of the Genesee. By James E. Seaver. Sixth edition. With Geographical and Explanatory Notes and Appendix. This edition also includes numerous illustrations, further particulars of the history of De-he-wā-mis, and other interesting matter collected and arranged by Wm. Pryor Letchworth. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York & London. The Knickerbocker Press, 1898. 12mo. pp. 300. Ill.

The new features are the Preface by Mr. Letchworth, and a chapter giving additional particulars, collected by Mr. Letchworth, regarding Mary Jemison's parentage, her personal appearance, etc. Among the score of illustrations is a frontispiece, "Mary Jemison being arrayed in the costume of a Seneca Indian maiden," from an original drawing by Miss Mildred Green, an artist of Buffalo; a fine portrait of Mrs. Asher Wright; and a view, from a photograph, of Mary Jemison's grave and the old council house near Mr. Letchworth's residence, "Glen Iris," Portage, N. Y.

ON THE SALE OF SENECA LANDS.

In connection with our original publication in this volume of Gen. Dearborn's journals, which he kept as Massachusetts commissioner in 1838 and 1839, in negotiations for the sale of the Seneca Indian lands near Buffalo, a brief list of other publications on that subject may be welcomed, and is appended. It is not exhaustive of the subject, but will at least refer the reader whose interest in it may be awakened, to the most important published material bearing thereon. The subject is so closely connected with other phases of Indian history in Western New York, which have been much written of, that a complete bibliography of the subject, if completeness were possible, would make a considerable volume of itself.

A Brief Sketch of the efforts of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, to promote the Civilization and Improvement of the Indians: also, of the present condition of the Tribes in the State of New York. Published by direction of the Indian Committee of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, No. 304 Arch Street. 1866. 8vo. pp. 56.

The publications of the Society of Friends on this subject are conspicuous for the obvious effort that was made to state facts without prejudice. That the Quakers were sincere and disinterested friends of the Senecas, is beyond doubt.

The Case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York, illustrated by facts. Printed for the information of the Society of Friends, by direction of the Joint Committees on Indian Affairs, of the four Yearly Meetings of Friends of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. [*Quot. 51.*] Philadelphia: Mer-

Merrihew and Thompson, printers, No. 7 Carter's Alley, 1840. 8vo. pp. 256.

This work embodies more information on the subject of the proposed removals, than can be found in any other single volume.

- A Further Illustration of the case of the Seneca Indians in the State of New York, in a review of a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Christian Community, &c. by Nathaniel Strong, a Chief of the Seneca Tribe." Printed by direction of the Joint Committees on Indian Affairs, of the four Yearly Meetings of Friends of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore. [*Quot.* 3 l.] Philadelphia: Printed by Merrihew and Thompson, No. 7 Carter's Alley. 1841. 8vo. pp. 84.

Further Proceedings of the Joint Committee appointed by the Society of Friends, constituting the Yearly Meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, for promoting the civilization and improving the condition, of the Seneca Nation of Indians, from the year 1847 to the year 1850. Baltimore: Wm. Woody & Son, printers, 1850. 8vo. pp. 119.

HOMES, HENRY A. (*LL.D.*) An Account of the Manuscripts of Gen. Dearborn, as Massachusetts Commissioner in 1838 and 1839 for the sale of the Seneca Indian Lands in the State of New York. Read before the Albany Institute, October 12th, 1880, by Henry A. Homes, LL. D., Librarian of the State Library. Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, printers. 1881. 8vo. pp. 11.

Dr. Homes gives, besides a history of the Dearborn manuscripts, and some description of them, a short but clear statement of the questions involved in these negotiations with the Senecas.

Memorial of the Seneca Indians, to the President of the United States, also an Address from the Committee of Friends, who have extended care to these Indians, and an extract from the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Baltimore: Printed by William Woody & Son, Corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets. 1850. 8vo. pp. 13, [1].

PIERCE, M[ARIS] B. Address on the present condition and prospects of the aboriginal inhabitants of North America, with particular reference to the Seneca Nation. By M. B. Pierce, a Chief of the Seneca Nation, and a member of Dartmouth College. Steele's Press. 1838. 8vo. pp. 16.

Proceedings of the Joint Committee appointed by the Society of Friends, constituting the Yearly Meetings of Genesee, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, for promoting the civilization and improving the condition, of the Seneca Nation of Indians. Baltimore: William Woody, printer. 1847. 8vo. pp. 189, errata [1].

Report on the Memorials of the Seneca Indians and others, Accepted November 21, 1840, in the Council of Massachusetts. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, State printers, Nos. 10 and 12 Exchange Street. 1840. 8vo. pp. 28.

SEVIER, AMBROSE H. [Speech in U. S. Senate, executive session, Mch. 17, 1840, on the treaty with the N. Y. Indians.]

An admirable history of the subject. It is included (pp. 65-93) in "The Case of the Seneca Indians," etc., 1840. Sevier served for some years as chairman of the committee on Indian affairs.

Some Account of the Conduct of the Religious Society of Friends towards the Indian Tribes in the settlement of the colonies of East and West Jersey and Pennsylvania: with a brief narrative of their labours for the civilization and Christian Instruction of the Indians, from the time of their settlement in America, to the year 1843. Published by the Aborigines' Committee of the Meeting for Sufferings. London: Edward Marsh, 84, Houndsditch. 1844.

"Publications relative to the Aborigines," No. 9. 8vo. pp. x. 247; two maps, one folding.

STRONG, NATHANIEL T. Appeal to the Christian Community on the condition and prospects of the New York Indians, in answer to a book entitled The Case of the Seneca Indians, and other publications of the Society of Friends. By Nathaniel T. Strong, a Chief of the Seneca Tribe. Buffalo: Press of Thomas & Co., No. 165 Main-Street. 1841. 8vo. pp. 63.

VAN BUREN, MARTIN. [Message to the U. S. Senate, Jan. 13, 1840, submitting the amended treaty of June 11, 1838, with the N. Y. Indians.]

A document of much importance to the student of the subject of the removal of these Indians, and the relations of the State of New York and the Federal Government to the so-called Ogden Land Co. and its alleged rights. President Van Buren sent to the Senate with this special message, the minutes of the council held at Cattaraugus on Aug. 13 and 14, 1839, Gen. Dearborn's journal of which appears in earlier pages of this volume. The message is printed in "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," compiled by James D. Richardson, and published by "authority of Congress," 1900; vol. iii., pp. 561-566.

VAN BUREN, MARTIN. [To the Senate, Jan. 21, 1840, transmitting a copy of a letter addressed to him by one of the Seneca chiefs, written on behalf of that portion of the tribe opposed to the treaty of Buffalo.]

In "Messages and Papers of the Presidents," vol. iii., p. 567.

WRIGHT, (*Rev.*) ASHER. [Letter to the committee of delegates from the three Yearly Meetings of Friends of New York, Genesee, and Philadelphia, dated Buffalo, Oct. 7, 1839.]

In "The Case of the Seneca Indians," etc., pp. 165-177.

MATTHEW BUNN'S "NARRATIVE."

On page 382 of this volume the whereabouts of copies of the "Narrative" of Matthew Bunn is given. The following copies have

also been learned of: In the library of the Boston Athenæum, a copy without title-page, but said to be—probably because of the date of the affidavit—later than 1800; presumably either 1826 or 1828. A copy of the 1828 edition is owned by the Long Island Historical Society, of Brooklyn, and another copy of the same edition is in the library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wis. An article in the *New York Sun*, some years ago, described the finding of a copy of the 1826 edition by "a veteran collector," "and its acquisition for the sum of 25 cents has filled his heart with joy." Who the lucky finder was, was not stated.



APPENDIX C

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